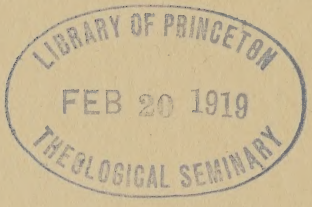

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A SOCIAL HISTORY
OF
THE AMERICAN FAMILY

Vol. III

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A SOCIAL HISTORY
OF
THE AMERICAN FAMILY
FROM COLONIAL TIMES
TO THE PRESENT

BY
ARTHUR W. CALHOUN, PH.D.

VOL. III
SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the American family during the past half-century possesses substantial unity, due of course to the fact that the period itself is marked by intrinsic oneness as the expression of an economic epoch—the transition to urban industrialism. It will be found that on the whole the striking phases of the present-day family are discernible at least in germ by the decade of the sixties, if not, indeed, much earlier. The developments that have taken place in the intervening years are more closely correlated with the process of urbanization and the ascent of industrial capitalism than with any other force. But so homogeneous is the period as a whole that in the tracing of most topics of the family it is not very essential to place great stress on minute chronology, tho in the course of fifty years some phases of the family have experienced a degree of progress toward acceptable denouement while others seem more involved today than at an earlier date.

If any division into sub-periods is to be made, the line would probably best fall within the decade of the eighties, for by that time the country was passing beyond the direct influences of the war, modern industrialism was well under way and began to take shape in the trust movement, good free land finally ran out, the new immigration set in, electricity brought in the telephone, the incandescent lamp, and the trolley car, the type-writer was facilitating modern business, and in general, society entered definitely upon the forms that

are familiar to us. It is significant that the development of interest in the serious, systematic study of the family, as of sociology in general, did not arise until about the same time as these unsettling factors of modern society.

Much credit for the awakening to real study of the family is due to the National Divorce Reform League which had its beginnings in the early eighties as the New England Divorce Reform League, an organization designed "to promote an improvement in public sentiment and legislation on the institution of the family, especially as affected by existing evils relating to marriage and divorce." In 1885 the league was made national and in 1897 the word "Family" was substituted for "Divorce," so that the organization became the National League for the Protection of the Family. Its numerous pamphlet publications are a most valuable guide to significant developments of the past thirty years, legislative, scientific, and pedagogic.

Prior to the eighties there had indeed been some attention to special topics dealing with family problems, such as the question of the birth-rate and the problem of divorce, but the family as an organic institution had been largely taken for granted. In a *Review of Twenty-five Years*, published in 1906, the corresponding secretary of the League for the Protection of the Family said of "the condition in 1881:"

> Little was made of the relation of divorce to the family. The ecclesiastical and legal writing on the subject treated it by itself. One law-book was entitled *The Law of the Domestic Relations*. But the family was hardly mentioned by most. Prophetic minds, like Bushnell and Mulford here and Maurice in England, had clearly pointed to the family. President Woolsey had given the family attention in his lectures at Yale. But nothing else had been done in our educational institutions.

> There were no lectures then on social science or sociology. Indeed, the word "sociology" was scarcely heard except in connection with the writings of Herbert Spencer. Maine, Morgan, and Tylor were read somewhat, but largely for their archaeological work. Their significance on the family as a modern problem was not much noticed. There was no book in the language with the simple title of The Family. The only one approaching it was on purely traditional lines. Property was beginning to be a problem of importance, but its relation to the family was hardly mentioned.

By the later eighties there was "a growing disposition to study the family and its related subjects in our universities, colleges, and other schools" and Thwing's *Family* appeared. But in 1890 in *Present Phases of the Divorce Question* the author already quoted said:

> Until within ten years, and it is still too true, there has been scanty recognition of the family in any of the ethical or political discussions of divorce, and comparatively little, except in the law books, of the intimate relations between the problems of marriage and divorce, while writers of neither class studied these topics as parts of the inclusive subject of the family. Indeed, the reader can go through the State constitutions, law books, and ethical discussions of the past with small risk of stumbling upon any direct reference to the family. Though the gain of recent years is marked, there is still too little apprehension of the way in which problems of divorce, marriage, polygamy, charity, children, and those of education, economics, politics, and religion merge in those of the family.

By the early years of the new century the situation had markedly improved. Courses of lectures or of study on the Family had become frequent. The higher educational institutions had pretty generally begun to do something with the family. Women's colleges had opened the subject to their students. Domestic economy, which had begun to find its way into colleges in the seventies and eighties and into normal schools in

the eighties and nineties, had also been introduced into some of the best secondary schools and was "rapidly growing in public favor." Periodical literature was giving more space to the home, and the departments devoted to that purpose were "of a much more scientific character and more valuable as a whole."

In 1908 all seven sessions of the annual meeting of the *American Sociological Society* were devoted to discussion of the problem of the family. Since that time interest in the question has taken shape in a number of books of positive merit, and the study of the family is being put gradually upon a scientific basis. The new evolutionary viewpoint tends to produce, as over against the old dogmatic ecclesiastic literalism and verbalism, an iconoclastic attitude with reference to family problems. For instance it tends to the offhand argument that inasmuch as the increase of divorce is a product of social evolution, therefore it is normal and to be accepted; or that inasmuch as certain functions of the parent have passed to the state we must begin to reconcile ourselves to the idea of state care of children to the virtual exclusion of home influence. The true scientific position will not be fatalist however, nor will it jump to conclusions. It will interpret the nature of things but it will do so with confidence in volitional control of evolution and a recognition of certain intrinsic values that can not be intrinsically displaced.

I. THE WHITE FAMILY IN THE NEW SOUTH

The cataclysmic overthrow of slavery in the South inaugurated a social revolution which in any case would have been effected ultimately by the sure working of economic forces. Emancipation set free the life of the South for modernization, and all social institutions began to register the change. The family was no exception; its transformation constitutes one of the insignia of the New South.

Perhaps the most outstanding alteration in the family institutions of the Caucasian South is in respect to the status of woman. Before the war there was for the southern woman no career outside the home, no opportunity for economic independence, for self-support. The great overthrow opened new scenes. Some might cling desperately to the old ideals as did a planter who, hearing that Sherman had expressed a desire to bring every southern woman to the wash-tub, exclaimed: "He shall never bring my daughters to the wash-tub," and in his seventieth year began to do the washing and continued for two years. One lady relates that the first meal she got after the downfall was cooked by her sons who had learned in the army the art of which she was ignorant. But the years of reconstruction continued the burden that the war had thrown upon women and imposed new troubles. Repudiation of bonds and other obligations issued during the war reduced thou-

sands of widows and orphans to penury. The supreme struggle with want and humiliation called many women to strenuous exertion. Federal soldiers levied forced contributions, thus stripping many people throughout the South, including widows and orphans, beyond the meager condition in which the war left them. Some sold what furniture they had left, a part of their sparse raiment, and in one instance "the coverlid off the baby's bed," to satisfy the exactions of men clothed in brief authority.[1] One soldier who returned armless to his Georgia home made his wife hitch him to a plow and together they made a crop. A northern missionary told a Philadelphia audience in 1867 that in North Carolina he had seen a white mother hitch herself to a plow which her boy of eleven guided while another child dropped seeds supplied by northern charity. In Virginia a white woman drove a plow drawn by her young daughters, one a nursing mother.[2] "No body of superior women ever lived faster," says Mayo, "than the women of the South through the ten years from 1860 to 1870."

After the war girls accepted and married men without a dollar and went to live in old broken farmhouses or in upper stories in town and made there "homes fragrant with sweetness and content." A young lady to whom a friend expressed sympathy on her prospective marriage with a young, one-armed soldier retorted: "I want no sympathy. I think it a great privilege and honor to be the wife of a man who lost his arm fighting for my country." Hundreds of women married such wrecks of men and bound up the wounds of war, "in the schoolroom and behind the counter, over the sew-

[1] Avary. *Dixie after the War*, 139.

[2] — *Ibid.*, 163.

ing machine and the cooking stove, in garden and field, everywhere showing the gems of Southern character."[3] Thousands of women once wealthy but left penniless by the war took up whatever work came to hand. Charleston after the war was described as a city of widows and children of planters keeping boarding-houses or pining in dire, hopeless penury; young men loafed in saloons and lived on their mothers.[4]

During the generation following the war, thousands, it was said a million, of southern young men left the old plantation life for the new Southwest, the Northwest, and "the cities of the border from New York to San Francisco." The burden of this new era was borne by the women of the rural districts, on whom it devolved to meet the "the distractions of a disordered domestic service," often unsupplied with the means for a comfortable living, and to bring order out of chaos. The period brought a demand for better education for girls, assumption of a greater female influence in the church, "and a final push towards the capture of a whole class of industries for women, hitherto unknown to or neglected by the sex." In many a home, mother, grandmother, and maiden aunt toiled to keep an elder daughter in school and impress her with the duty of joining as soon as possible in the task of helping to lift up the younger sisters and possibly the brothers.

The full consequences of the shifting scenes were not comprehended by the actors. Many people, of course, deplored the disturbance of tradition. At first, school-teaching was the least objectionable recourse for the earning of money outside the home. It proved to be an entering wedge. Twenty-five years after the war,

[3] Underwood. *Women of the Confederacy*, 65.

[4] Powers. *Afoot and alone*, 43.

conditions were such that it could be said (tho of course with exaggeration)

> Thanks to the public schools, any girl, however humbly born, may secure an education and by the force of her intellect command an honorable position in the best society; and if she does not marry it is because she has not met a man who is her equal in mental culture and at the same time more able to take care of her than she is to take care of herself.[5]

A sojourn in the South brings one in touch with many an illustration of the transformation in the status of womanhood. The girl of the New South goes off to teach in spite of the objections of father and brothers who feel themselves disgraced if regarded as unable to support their women; or she refuses to attend Harvard summer school because women are not admitted to the regular session; or she takes up socialism and instills liberal ideas into her pupils in an aristocratic academy while her mother agitates for suffrage; perhaps she even goes to New York and becomes a familiar figure among the radicals. She perchance repudiates the orthodox spirituality of her Presbyterian parents and becomes an avowed freethinker; or she decides to study medicine and, when her folks veto, goes off to the university to study sociology and then shifts to the course of her own choice. Brilliant and refined southern women take the platform in prohibition campaigns or find comradeship with the socialists, and suffrage bills find their way into southern legislatures. There are still abundant illustrations of the other sort. Perhaps the traditions of the South have withheld from its women something of the assurance with which women of other heritage face the world. It is hard to overcome social standards; hence southern girls teaching in the North may pretend to their friends back home that

[5] Tillett. "Southern Womanhood as affected by the War," 11.

they are on a visit; but the sphere for southern women is inevitably expanding toward the same completeness as impends elsewhere.

Seen through the eyes of the conservatives the social life of women in the South seems to have changed greatly for the worse. Less than thirty years after the end of the war it was alleged that "much less deference to womankind is entertained by the rising generation of young men. Ordinary attentions are withheld from young ladies, and escorting them spoken of as a burden in a manner shocking to one brought up in a former and more chivalrous generation." The changed nature of domestic service was declared to be "altogether evil."[6] An editorial in the North Carolina University *Magazine* of 1886 warns against women's clubs and says that they are probably responsible for the alarming prevalence of divorce and remarriage among Boston women. But in spite of conventional traditions as to woman's place, the woman of the New South is becoming "Woman" rather than "Lady" and is welcoming all the means to a stimulating life, while the old degrading pseudo-chivalry is giving way for a better relation, with the possibility of equality in comradeship.

The aroma of the old sentimentalism, however, still lingers. For instance Mr. Hobson tells how a staunch opponent was led to swing his whole clan in an election by reason of Mrs. Hobson's ingratiating plea and smile. Said the old patriarch: "Mrs. Hobson, I voted for your husband—and more than that I made my forty-two sons and grandsons vote for him, but it was not for the captain; we did it for your sake." Such an attitude toward woman and toward social affairs is a coun-

[6] Tillett. "Southern Womanhood as affected by the War," 11.

terpart to such legislation as enabled Benjamin Tillman Jr., to deed his two small children to Senator and Mrs. Tillman in order to get them away from his wife, their mother, with whom he had quarreled. The senator's part in this affair seems to have been above reproach but he must have had a sorry sense of perspective when he attacked suffrage as degrading to woman.

It is of interest to observe in passing that the Ku Klux Klan had opportunity to exercise disciplinary functions on other than negroes. One man who was in the habit of beating his wife unmercifully and failed to furnish support for his family found his house surrounded one night by a ghostly crowd who informed him that after a certain period they would return for business, unless he went to work and treated his family better. Thenceforth there was not a more industrious man in the region.

The general transformation of the South has profoundly altered the home. At the close of the war the survivors of the Confederacy were perhaps "the poorest civilized people on the face of the earth." Gradual improvement in the means of living carried with it a corresponding advancement in the life of the home. Less than a quarter century after Appomattox a southern gentleman wrote:

> Compare the old and the new houses. Those built recently are better in every way than those built before the war. I do not speak of an occasional mansion that in the old times lifted itself proudly among a score of cabins, but of the thousands of decent farmhouses and comely cottages that have been built in the last ten years. I know scores whose new barns are better than their old residences. Our people have better furniture. Better taste asserts itself: the new houses are painted; they have not only glass but blinds. There is more comfort inside. There are luxuries where once there were not conveniences.

> Carpets are getting to be common among the middle classes. There are parlor organs, pianos, and pictures where we never saw them before. And so on, to the end of a long chapter.[7]

The drift toward city life, however, has had a distinct influence on the southern home. After the war, young ladies and young men felt the urban attraction and often the old folks were left to struggle "with the embarrassments of the time, and their sons far away from them in cities." The young bachelors that essayed plantation life had a hard time and fewer women wanted to live on plantations, bereft as they were of the old time help and exposed perhaps to a new danger. The change that has taken place from home life in isolation, or in the small village where birth, marriage, and death were the three supreme experiences, drawing together the whole village in loving ministry[8]—the change from such simplicity to urban gregariousness means a revolution in the tendency of southern family life. The trend is toward the weakening of the home, the substitution of other interests, the shrinkage of parenthood, the growth of divorce.

The relative slowness of the South, however, to respond to the new influences is seen in the fact that the proportion of early marriages among native whites of native parentage is much larger in the South than in the North or the West. In any picture of the New South account must still be had of the poor whites of the back country, living in rude hovels with large families and using the simple facilities of primitive life. Regard must be given to the crude villages and their primitive life.

In the social life of the primitive mountaineers, old simple usages have strong tenure. An English lady

[7] Barnes. *Studies in American History*, 381-382.

[8] Compare Hammond, "Young Women of Tippah."

remarked in a book of 1883 upon women's doing the outdoor work while the men smoke. A later writer declares that nowhere else in the world has the Anglo-Saxon race produced such unattractive dismal looking females. When a youth marries his barefoot bride, there is music and dancing and some one to perform the ceremony even if the itinerant preacher can not be found in time. A new cabin rises in a remote hollow, a patch of timber is belted and killed, and a careless corn crop struggles with bushes, crows, and squirrels. Many homes have but one window. Dishes are scarce and children eat from their parents' plates or all gather round a single bowl. Immorality exists, though the intimate family life in the better cabins is quite decorous.

The women of the Kentucky mountains are rooted to their homes, perhaps never having been to the post-office four miles away or to see the old folks a few hours' walk across the mountains. Lack of good roads has hindered freedom of intercourse. Mountain women marry early, many at fourteen or fifteen and nearly all before they are twenty. Many are pretty in youth but premature marriage, frequent child-bearing, ignorance or neglect of hygiene, and overwork soon age them, so that when past thirty a mountain woman is likely to be bent and faded. Seven to ten children make a normal family; fifteen is no uncommon number; but infant mortality is high. Whole districts are interrelated and knowledge of the ill effects of close inbreeding is of small avail.

In the mountains man is lord, tho he deigns to consult his wife about family matters and may tolerate a certain amount of shrewishness. He seldom meddles in the house. As for outdoor work, the woman does

her share, dragging in with the help of the children dead timber from the hillsides and taking a turn in the fields as well. At table the wife stands and serves, or if seated passes the dishes first to the men. Woman is to the mountaineer hardly more than a higher grade domestic animal and she would scarcely respect her husband if he did not put upon her the menial tasks. Women do not visit or go anywhere without asking leave. Divorces are rather rare "not by grace of any uncommon regard for the seventh commandment, but rather from a more tolerant attitude of mind."

Most mountaineers are indulgent parents; boys grow up with slight restraint beyond their own sense of duty; little children consume what they please, often with fatal consequences. Domestic affection, tho seldom uttered, is deep and strong. Kinship reaches to remote degrees of consanguinity. Family loyalty commands supreme devotion, even to the point of perjury in court or the shedding of blood.[9]

The problem of "our contemporary ancestors" of the highlands bids fair to be solved by the building of roads through their fastnesses and by the introduction of factories which will draw them forth and expose them to education and development. The new industrialism has already fundamentally affected many mountain families. For the time being, however, this very industrial revolution may aggravate evil conditions, as occurred for instance in a certain archaic, straggling town on the edge of the southern mountains a few years since when a great corporation located a plant there. The community already had a vile slum life to which the well-to-do citizens manifested a laissez-faire attitude tho the community had cultivated a shining repu-

[9] Kephart. *Our Southern Highlanders, passim.*

tation for extraordinary religious rectitude and piety. The deep seated depravity of the community was aggravated by the inflow of labor, which had to be accommodated in the most outrageous conditions of housing.

Shortly after the industrial revolution a young man long resident in the town and qualified by character and insight to set forth conditions, reported in substance as follows:

> The place is rotten. Houses of prostitution are all over it. Immoral women come in numbers to religious meetings at a mission and get their men right there. In one part of the town two prominent women have kept houses for a long time – vile places. In these resorts so many of the men of the town used to be that their women got sticks and stones and smashed up things about two years ago. During a military encampment last summer one woman entertained as many as thirty soldiers in a day. In the course of the season a crowd of soldiers gave these women a thrashing. Yet such women powder up and drive around with rather prominent men of the town. If the livery horses could talk, they would have a great tale to tell. One professing Christian who goes habitually with whores has been found out by his wife, who says that when she herself catches him she will blow out her own brains. Immoral girls parade Main Street and good girls waiting at the post office and the like are in such close proximity (tho not talking to them) that strangers to town class all together. Dozens of girls are being led into vile lives because there is no one to say anything or tell them the right. A boy of sixteen expressed the opinion that when a girl consented to intercourse the act was adultery for her but not for him (tho his mother had told him otherwise). This youth could not become a Christian if he had to give up fornication; he was in jail once and thought he would die because he could not get to women. In the houses of the slum district one finds women going round semi-naked. I went into one house and saw a fellow leave off intercourse with a pretty girl. One can see them hugging and kissing in public. Things are so bad over by "the works" –

only half a dozen Christians there – that one of the Christians says: "I'm going to start something even if I have to indict my own father." (The people in that section are interrelated.) The owner of a big business concern is living in adultery with another man's wife. Her son is growing up – a nice, well-disposed boy – and is beginning to find out about his mother.

Preachers and others are afraid of their necks, and good Christian people wonder at the hardness of life and their sons' going wrong. One pastor who came close to the subject in a sermon pretty nearly got into difficulty. Prominent educators in the place know about conditions but remain inert. It would hurt people's business to stir up the question.

It is hard for the newcomer to such a community to tell how much of the depravity is of long standing and how much of it is due to the abnormal conditions consequent upon the introduction of a new economic era into a place unprepared for it; but conditions in the community just described seem to bear witness to the widespread degeneracy that prevails undisturbed in old rural villages rather than to the demoralizing effects of urban capitalism. It is a serious question whether the village and the countryside are essentially purer than is the city.

The mass of the poor whites throughout the South are still far from the possibility of wholesome home life. Hookworm, malaria, tenantry, and loan-sharks consume their vitality; many are virtually homeless inasmuch as oppressive conditions of farm tenure, coupled with inefficiency and lack of capital, result in yearly moves and propertylessness. Housing conditions in country and village are desperately vile. Few southern rural families have real kitchen gardens, and of course orchards are impossible to servile, migratory tenants. The rudimentary conveniences of housekeeping are wanting in a large proportion of families. President Cook

of the Mississippi Normal College attributes the fading of farmers' wives to the burden of water-carrying.

> The cooking of three meals a day on a meager allowance of water will necessitate ten buckets, which will make for cooking alone twelve hundred pounds of lifting per day [as the water has to be handled six times in the course of its use]. When to this is added the water necessary for bathing, scrubbing and the weekly wash, it will easily bring the lift per day up to a ton, and the lifting of a ton a day will take the elasticity out of a woman's step, the bloom out of her cheek and the enjoyment from her soul.

The canning club movement has begun to arouse the girls of the rural South to the possibility of providing a superior substitute for store goods from the North. A movement has also begun to introduce or revive other household industries in the homes of the poor. In the mountains, native handicrafts are being restored. Commercialized industry, too, is finding it possible to use the home. The president of a Durham hosiery concern found that marriage was depriving him of his most efficient girls; so he conceived the plan of sending the work after them into their homes. The experiment was begun by the installation of several looping machines in the homes of a number of former employees. The plan was a success from the start. By the beginning of 1914 forty-three "home factories" were operating in Durham and extension to other places was in prospect.

The economic advance that is visiting the South in the form of improved communication, the introduction of modern industry, and the regeneration of household activities under the inspiration of practical education point the way through the new prosperity to the redemption of the southern working-class family. A new land system, the expansion of rural credits and sci-

entific agriculture, a socialized policy in industry, and devotion to the new education that is taking so firm a hold on the South are indispensable requisites to the laying of substantial economic and social foundations for sound family institutions and home life among the common white folks of the section.

The twin problems of education and child labor are still far from adequate solution. Child labor was natural enough in the period of recovery from prostration, and the poverty of the South even until recent times made it seem necessary for everybody to work. Factories came as a stimulating boon to the poor hill people, drawing them from their hopeless barren fastnesses into community life with some possibility of enlightenment; but the system carried with it the cruel exploitation of childhood at the hands of those who were either too selfish or too short-sighted to realize the wastefulness of such a policy. One manufacturer of better insight has declared that the child is the most expensive employee. The spread of this vision, opening the eyes of manufacturers to the desirability of eliminating the younger children and securing compulsory education, may be expected to assist the humanitarian sentiment that is developing in behalf of the child.

White children had poor chance for education after the war; mother or sister had to do the teaching. Many a beautiful and brilliant girl sacrificed her future for the sake of small brothers and sisters. Mrs. Sarah Hughes said in 1867: "The children of the dead soldiers are wandering beggars. . . Except in large cities there are no schools or homes for the fatherless." By the seventies there were few or no rural districts without a number of half grown illiterate children.

Aside from the pressure that drove tiny boys to the plow handles and little girls to irksome chores there were other obstacles in the way of public education. It took time for opposition to free public schools to abate. The patrician was loath to send his children, especially the girls, to mingle with "poor white trash." Moreover the roads were bad and negroes roved. White children in the fields wistfully watched black children flocking to school.[10] Even in very recent years something of the same conditions prevailed in some places. In northern Florida, for instance, a white father and mother with their children might be seen going to the field to hoe cotton while a little farther along the road a half-dozen negro children were trudging to school. In the mill districts the white children are in the mills and the blacks are in school.[11] Only now are the people of the South adopting a broad attitude with reference to the education of children. There is point to W. H. Page's mention of a man who, declaring the charge for tuition too high, took from school his two children who were there at the expense of some one else. Next to him might be placed the Florida school superintendent who not many years since opposed compulsory education, with the quaint remark: "Of course I'll send my children to school, but I'm not going to let anybody make me do it." The old fashioned Southerner tends to resent community interference with the family. As much as can be expected of some states in the matter of compulsory education is that the necessary coercion of parents will come by the local option route.

In the new South, somewhat as in the old, family

[10] Avary. *Dixie after the War*, 297-301.

[11] Crouch-Hazlett. "Statistics and Facts."

has played an important role. A slangy girl on a Mississippi steamer said: "We used to be well off. Mother'd ruther we'd marry poor quality folks than see us rich and happy if our husbands were common stock." W. H. Page relates that when he was a pupil at a famous boys' school a lad whose father had had neither a military nor a political career was at a disadvantage. A thirteen-year-old companion came to Page's room one day, shut the door, and fell into tears because his father was not a colonel. "I tried to comfort him by telling him that my father was not a colonel either. . . This . . . only gave him the less respect for me." To belong to a notable family is still a rich asset in the South.

It is a surprise, therefore, to learn to what a degree pedigree has been neglected. In the 1878 *Collections* of the Georgia Historical Society there is a rather pathetic reference to this new-world indifference:

> In this youthful country, so careless of and indifferent to the memories of other days, so ignorant of the value of monuments and the impressive lessons of antiquity, where no law of primogeniture encourages in the son the conservation of the abode and heirlooms of his fathers, where new fields, cheap lands, and novel enterprises at remote points are luring the loves of succeeding generations from the gardens which delighted, the hoary oaks which sheltered, and the fertile fields which nourished their ancestors, where paternal estates are constantly alienated at public and private sales, landed acquisitions are placed at the mercy of speculative strangers, and family treasures, established inheritances, and old homesteads are seldom preserved.[12]

In the *Transactions* of the South Carolina Huguenot Society (published in 1899) it is said that

> The average family pedigree in South Carolina, as probably in the other original states, is full of errors, due principally to

[12] Georgia Historical Society *Collections*, vol. iv, 253.

> the neglect that has prevailed in the preservation of dates in the family records, and in the separation of generations from each other, especially where the same honored Christian name of the one who first brought the family into prominence is frequently repeated. The result of this neglect is in many cases absolute confusion, and where the old Family Bibles containing entries of births, marriages and deaths have been lost, as has largely been their fate at the south, the only expedient [left is to examine wills and other papers in the county offices].[13]

For some while after the war it was naturally not the thing to intermarry with northerners. A lady says, however, of Virginia just after the war: "There were some intermarriages; a Petersburg girl ran away with a federal officer, and the pair sought asylum at my father's in Richmond's northern colony." But a southern girl showing fondness for federal beaux was putting herself under the ban. If such preference was not treason to the Confederacy it was disloyalty to the boys in gray. There is some reason to suppose that the unlikeness between North and South has increased since the war, but acquaintance has improved and intermarriages are now commonplace.

[13] Huguenot Society of South Carolina *Transactions*, no. 6, p. 3.

II. MISCEGENATION

The interracial sex *mores* so prevalent in the South during the régime of slavery survived to a considerable degree the downfall of formal chatteldom. Not only by reason of ingrained usage but also on account of the fact that the negro has largely continued to occupy a position of social inferiority and virtual slavery, it has taken time for wholesome standards to prevail. In a work entitled *Yazoo*, Colonel A. T. Morgan, a Mississippi gentleman originally from the North, gives much interesting information on the period following the war. His experiences with miscegenation are illuminating.

It seems to have been almost impossible for colored girls to stand up against the temptation encountered at every turn. One bright pupil was seduced by a "best citizen." In one instance the son of a white judge fell in love with a daughter of his father's former slave. Neither girl nor mother would receive him save as suitor for her hand in marriage. Dick begged his mother to consent to the union, after which they would sail to some land above the color line. When she acquiesced her husband raved so that she retracted. Then a conspiracy was formed to obtain the girl and apparently succeeded, for Dick consented to marry a white girl. "At all times liable to the grossest vulgarities and obscenities from white youth and men, and from black, too, the wonder is that many more [girls] were not defiled than there were."

The colored women came out of bondage with grossly perverted standards. Females visited Morgan's place often, ostensibly to inquire after old acquaintances, and finally remarked that not all Yankees were so slow to take a hint. One woman, the wife of a preacher, sent her beautiful young daughter repeatedly day and night and finally recommended her charms to the northerner, with the advice that he should not consider himself too good for colored girls as the best gentlemen in the country never thought themselves too good and they had wives. Later the woman begged his pardon for her ignorance of northern ways. "There were not many like Rose's mother I was glad to find, but the level of morality was low."

Next door to Morgan lived a merchant whose children by his wife and those by his favorite concubine played together like any happy family. Morgan himself married a woman of negro descent. Up to that time the colored concubines of white men had been able to maintain social prestige with rank according to that of the white sweetheart. The concubine of a wealthy planter stood at the top of the colored social ladder; when she passed to a merchant or lawyer she slipped down a peg. When she became the mistress of a "po' clerk" she took corresponding rank, and so on till she became the wife of a "po' no 'count nigger." Meanwhile her daughters imitated her, often on her very trail – "unless, as was often the case, the concubine had too much pride and self-respect to rear daughters for such a purpose – in which case she destroyed herself to prevent it, or killed them."

Morgan sought to impress on the colored women in Yazoo a belief in the possibilities of the new way of purity and honor. His own marriage seems to have

offered a center for the crystallization of new social standards among the freed people. Presently the concubine's social prestige came into jeopardy; several were turned out of church. Accordingly many of the women began to inquire whether there was any legal obstacle to marriage and the men were in a sad plight. One began the erection of an elegant residence and allowed it to be given out that the house was for his mistress. Another gave money to his woman; another secretly married his; another made promises suffice. Some surrendered all claim on their concubines. Most men bided their time, but were fearfully harassed.

The whites professed to abhor amalgamation; women did detest it. In view of Morgan's example in marrying a "negro," the wife of a very prominent citizen worked herself into such a fury that she drove her husband's concubine out of the house. One man whose wife protested against his behavior with a colored girl, beat the girl, sent her away without paying her for years of work, and betook himself to another negro woman. The former concubine came to Morgan's office to complain of her treatment and was instructed to tell her master that if he did not pay the wages due he would be prosecuted for seduction. The girl never returned; her paramour cursed, but took her back to his shelter.

Stephen Powers, who passed through the South shortly after the war, tells of applying for lodgings at a lordly mansion in South Carolina and being repelled by the mistress. At the next house he learned the cause of her irritation—her only daughter had just given birth to a negro babe. Diligent inquiry all across the South failed to disclose another such instance in high life or even in respectable life, but in the South Carolina districts where the black population was densest

and the poor whites most degraded "these unnatural unions were more frequent than anywhere else." Powers says that in every case it was a woman of the lowest class, generally a "sand-hiller," who, deprived of her supporter by the war, "took up with a likely nigger" in order to save her children from famine. He found six such marriages in South Carolina but never more than one in any other state.[14] Morgan tells of a white couple who had a mulatto child tho no trace of negro blood could be found in the family tree. It was a high-toned family; the husband sent the boy north to be brought up; people called the case a freak of nature.

The convict system since the war has promoted immorality. At one time the only white woman in a certain penitentiary had to be locked up to prevent her ruin. About 1890 the number of bastards born in the Georgia penitentiary (mostly of negresses) became a public scandal. The rising standard of living among the colored people has also played a part in temptation. A bright and likely girl has had small chance of a career save as the mistress of a white man. To maintain her integrity would mean to sacrifice many desirable appurtenances of an ambitious life. Sometimes, on the other hand, a white man has been known to take up with a negro woman for the sake of her property.

W. H. Thomas, a man with some African blood who went South after the war to teach freedmen, declares in his book on the *American Negro* that in some instances church debts have been created and schemes gotten up for securing money from philanthropic white people so that a black preacher might be able to win the favor of lewd white women, and that in the North colored women have to compete with lewd white women for the

[14] Powers. *Afoot and Alone*, 40-41.

most desirable negro men. He asserts that there is no school of prominence in negro training which has not had on its roll young women in immoral relation with white men, whose school expenses have in many instances been met by such men with the connivance of the school authorities. He calls attention to the "well-nigh universal custom in the South, as well as in many sections of the North" for white men to keep negro mistresses and cites the utterances of southern grand juries in condemnation of the prevalent concubinage which keeps young men from marrying white girls. Causes are found in moral laxity and degenerative greed which are leading white men to refrain from conjugal life on account of the greater freedom and cheapness of mesalliances. Thomas gives as the leading causes of the downfall of negro women, laziness, fondness for display, lack of conception or knowledge of fundamental duties of womanhood, and the consciousness of white superiority. Many mothers, he says, bring their girls up in an atmosphere of laxity, often with aversion to their own race, and rejoice at the fruits of their daughters' physical charms.

Negro gatherings show a complete gamut of colors. Perhaps, however, the southern people are not entitled to sole blame. A negro woman in Florida remarked to a tourist:

> Rich Yankees in de winter-time; crap uh white nigger babies in de fall. Fus' war we all had down here, mighty big crap uh yaller babies come up. Arter de war 'bout Cuba, 'nother big crap come 'long. Nigger gal ain' gwine have black chile ef she kin git a white one![15]

Mrs. Avary says that the average negress will invite the mere lust of a worthless white man in preference to

[15] Avary. *Dixie after the War*, 397.

marriage with a black; the average mulatto of either sex considers union with a black degrading. This writer says that the virtuous black woman is found most often in southern rural districts rather than in cities North or South.[16]

The continuance of miscegenation has been attended by considerable controversy. Southerners can scarcely withhold themselves from satisfaction at evidence of sexual lapses in the North. One southern gentleman said, for instance, in the case of a certain northern divine accused of immorality: "The whole country is tired of free-love Beecher." An elder in an Atlanta church a few years since expressed to the author his disgust at northern anxiety over miscegenation in the South and told with satisfaction of a flagrant instance of the same sin that obtruded itself upon him during a visit north. In one notable southern case a man charged with miscegamy retorted with demand for proof, maintaining that he never had given the offence the slightest encouragement whereas in his county there were many persons of mixed blood, all of whom, so far as the accused knew, traced their lightness to "Democratic fatherhood."[17] In connection with a proposal in Georgia to send white teachers of mixed schools to the chain gang, a correspondent in the *Advance* is cited as urging that every colored woman giving birth to a light colored child should be constrained to disclose the father and that he should be hanged. A southern Methodist preacher is quoted in the same connection as urging that the parents of mulatto children be sent to the chain gang.[18] During a southern sojourn of six years ago the

[16] Avary. *Dixie after the War*, 397-398.

[17] *Great Ecclesiastical Trial of J. W. Thorne*, 3.

[18] "Georgia's Proposed Chain Gang for Christian Teachers," 5, 10.

author observed a case of a white man's living openly in a good house with a colored concubine and their family of children, and was told that when the man began this irregular life he was waited upon by a number of white men, who protested against his conduct, whereupon the man replied that they need have nothing to say inasmuch as they had their dark women secretly while he intended to live with his openly.

Right-thinking southern men and women have strongly opposed inter-racial immorality. Very recently W. D. Weatherford said: "We of the white race must brand every white man who seduces a colored girl as a fiend of the same stripe as the negro who rapes a white woman."[19] The ideal, however, is hard to attain. Some ten years since in a flourishing little southern city the author found that difficulty was experienced in keeping high school boys from consorting with negro girls. A South Carolina man of good training and educational experience testifies that white men have told him that a negress makes a more desirable mistress than a white woman by reason of the greater warmth of her nature. On the score that negroes have no morals, protection is denied to negro girls.[20] Still, immorality with colored women is far less prevalent than before the War.[21] In New Orleans after the War the peculiar prestige of quadroons and octoroons passed away. The educator just quoted asserts that when a negro girl has been away to school and "learned something" she will not listen to the advances of a white man. White men's union with colored women has become largely restricted to casual

[19] "Growing social Effort in the South:" in the *Survey*, vol. xxxvi, 196.

[20] Southern Sociological Congress, *Battling for Social Betterment*, 152.

[21] "Growing social Effort in the South:" in the *Survey*, vol. xxxvi, 196.

intercourse.[22] A few years since, A. H. Stone, a Mississippi cotton planter, was quoted as corroborating the opinion that amalgamation is rapidly disappearing.

> There was a vast amount [he said] up to perhaps twenty years ago. Since then there has been a decided change of sentiment on the part of southern white men. I know that not so long ago it was not an uncommon thing to find an overseer or superintendent on a plantation who would have from one to half a dozen concubines. This practice has practically been done away with. The planters will not permit their overseers to do such things, and the overseers themselves seldom offend.[23]

In the negro race, too, there has begun a certain insistence on negro standards of beauty and racial respect, as opposed to pernicious admiration of the white race – a movement that may do much to set the negro free from the insidious bondage of sex transgression. Kelly Miller well says

> Blending of the races is less likely to take place, if the dignity, self-respect, and manly opportunity of the negro are encouraged and respected, than if he is forever crushed beneath the level of his faculties for fancied dread of "social equality." The only way to foster race pride which in turn leads to the preservation of race type and race integrity, is to open up vista and scope to the black man's aspiration. . . The inexorable decree of "social equality" is every day defeating its own purpose. Hundreds of mixed bloods are daily crossing the color line, and carrying with them so much of the despised blood as an albicant skin can conceal without betrayal. . .

Doctor Miller sees in this fact a consequence of the desire to escape for self and posterity "an odious and despised status."

> Intermarriage usually takes place among the lower stratum of both races. The refined and cultivated class among the colored people show as much distaste for such alliances as the whites themselves. . . Degradation of the negro would lead

[22] Wylly. *Seed that was Sown in the Colony of Georgia, 1740-1870*, 122.
[23] Patterson. *Negro and his Needs*, 39.

soonest to the destruction of type and final blending of race through illicitness. Had slavery continued for another century, without fresh African importation, there would scarcely have remained an unbleached negro in America.[24]

Interracial respect and good-will furnish a barrier to amalgamation, or at least do not encourage it, as is shown by the experience of Oberlin and Berea Colleges where association of the races did not result in intermarriage. A remarkable commentary on southern standards is found in the fact that recently at any rate some of the people of the South were expecting the race problem to be solved ultimately by absorption.

A factor in the question that has not received enough attention is the probable influence of the new womanhood of the South, white and black. One may suppose that with the increasing economic independence of white women there will come an increasing power on their part exerted in pressure against the vicious practices which they had to tolerate in the old days of miscalled "chivalry" because they had no means of independent life. The independence and enlightenment already attained by the womanhood of the negro race has been a factor in the improvement of morals. Significant, too, is the recent assertion of W. E. B. Dubois that the number of "poor white prostitutes of the South" has doubled in twenty years.[25]

A more sensational phase of race relation has been the rape of white women by negroes. While this practice can not be attributed solely to the evil influences of reconstruction days it was undoubtedly aggravated thereby. The negro soldier was sometimes in a position to bully and insult white women; moreover the time was rife with discussion of social equality. Ad-

[24] Miller. "Social Equality."

[25] Dubois. "Another Study in Black," 412.

vice from the North and the attitude of northern press and pulpit had something to do with making the African feel his importance. General Halleck wrote to Grant in 1865 of a negro corps: "A number of cases of atrocious rape have already occurred. Their influence on the colored people is reported bad. I hope you will remove it." Other federal officers made similar reports. Governor Perry of South Carolina remonstrated against negro troops and told of their entering a house and, after tying the man, violating the ladies. General Schofield sentenced a negro rapist to eighteen years in the penitentiary. The absence of Ku Klux Klan in Virginia has been attributed in part to the swiftness of that sentence. One negro being lynched for attempted rape said: "But, fo Gawd, gent'mun, ef a white man f'om de Norf hadn't put't in my hade dat a white 'oman warn' none too good fuh—"

Mrs. Avary says that northern indignation over lynching and silence as to raping was likely to mislead negroes. She quotes a southern girl as exclaiming:

> They do not care, the men and women of the North, if we are raped. They do not care that we are prisoners of fear, that we fear to take a ramble in the woods alone, fear to go about the farms on necessary duties, fear to sit in our houses alone; fear, if we live in cities, to go alone on the streets at hours when a woman is safe anywhere in Boston or New York.

Mrs. Avary goes on to say that from the northern attitude as represented in press and pulpit, negroes drew their own conclusions; violation of a white woman was no harm; indeed, as a leveler of social distinctions, it might almost pass for an act of grace; the way to become a martyr hero in the eyes of the white North was to assault a white woman of the South.[26]

In 1870 under negro rule in North Carolina a rapist

[26] Avary. *Dixie after the War*, 377-384.

was tried before a negro jury, convicted on negro evidence, and hanged. The better sentiment of the negro race tended normally to reassert itself.[27] But the white race did not wait for salvation from that quarter. A writer on the Ku Klux Klan[28] recalls –

> The unspeakable crimes, the shame, the anguish – that befel
> The only sister of our race,
> A thing too horrible to tell.
>
> When families sacrificing their land for a song would steal away to some distant state to spend the remainder of their days in obscurity, with the dark story locked in their own breasts.

Men joined the Klan partly in order to save their women from dishonor.

When poor white girls find it necessary to work side by side with negro men, particularly in lonely rural labor, they are exposed to unusual danger. Economic equality of this sort brings to the negro man temptations that would be rather unlikely to occur to him if his association were with white ladies of high rank.

Of late years the crime of rape of white women probably tends to decrease. As the better standards previously mentioned become fixed it will doubtless practically disappear or at all events become as rare (if it has not already done so) as like offences on the part of degraded men in other parts of the civilized world. Even now it is the cause of only a moderate proportion of the lynchings that afflict the South. Certainly the elimination of such lewd dives and vile saloons as fired the imagination of black men with pictures of Caucasian charms in the days before the Atlanta riots will do somewhat to speed the day of safety.

[27] Avary. *Dixie after the War*, 386.

[28] Compare Jarvis, "Ku-klux Klans": in *North Carolina Booklet*, vol. ii, no. 1, pp. 5, 11-13.

After the war there occurred in some states a temporary letting down in prohibition of interracial marriage. Such was the case in Mississippi. In Maryland the assembly of 1867 removed the probition on marriage between negro and white but failed to repeal the old penalty on clergymen officiating. In 1884, however, all marriages between whites and those of negro descent to the third generation inclusive were forbidden. The Southern States have today prohibition varying in detail but all aimed to guard the race line. The necessity for such legislation calls in question the supposed antipathy between the races, unless the intention is merely to guard against the aberrancy of atypical individuals. The laws are certainly of dubious justice and clearly work hardship in certain cases. Thus in 1886 in Maryland a colored man and a white woman with several children were married, religious influence having made the man uneasy in concubinage. The court gave them eighteen months in prison. A negro says: "The whites have mingled with us in the dark, but when we want to bring the clear light of day upon such things they are shocked." Colored leaders, even tho opposed to intermarriage, can well oppose the prohibitory laws as furnishing a cloak for the immorality of white men, who are free to seduce colored girls without running the risk of forced marriage.

Some states outside the South have attempted to check miscegenation by statute. In general, where intermarriage of the races is still permitted very little occurs. Such marriages as do take place are largely of persons so low as not to represent either race.

III. THE NEGRO FAMILY SINCE EMANCIPATION[29]

Emancipation left for the South a serious problem as to the marital status of the freed people. It became necessary to determine and recognize their unions and for this purpose many Southern States enacted special statutes. The Missouri law of 1865 required legal marriage of slave couples. Many negroes took advantage of the interpretation of the statute to move and take a new wife.[30] For some time after the war, the word "white" remained in the Maryland bastardy law, which allowed any white woman to disclose the father of her illegitimate child so that he might be required to provide for its support. The code of 1888 left out the word "white." The bearing of such changes can be seen in a case in which a colored man in jail for inability to pay the sum necessary for support of his child married the woman, thus legitimizing the child, and was set free with admonition to care for his family and "behave himself."[31]

The proposal to put the blacks of the South on the same level as whites in respect to legal marriage aroused some opposition. A Mississippi physician exclaimed:

> Why, sir, that so-called constitution elevates every nigger wench to the equality of mah own daughters. The monstrous thing! . . . The world-wide fame of the fair ladies of the

[29] Dubois. *Negro American Family.* This contains "a select bibliography of the Negro American Family."

[30] Trexler. *Slavery in Missouri,* 89.

[31] Brackett. *Progress of the Colored People of Maryland since the War,* 78, 80.

> South faw beauty, faw refinement, and faw chastity has been ouah proudest boast. This vile thing you call a constitution robs us of that too. . . The negro women have always stood between ouah daughters and the superabundant sexual energy of ouah hot-blooded youth. And by God, sir, youah so-called constitution tears down the restrictions that the fo'sight of ouah statesmen faw mo' than a century has placed upon the negro race in ouah country. If it is fo'ced on the people of the state, all the damned negro wenches in the country will believe they're just as good as the finest lady . . . and ouah young men'll be driven back upon the white ladies, and we'll have prostitution like you all have it in the North. . . The end of it all will sho'ly be the degradation of ouah own ladies to the level of ouah wenches – the brutes.

A score of neighbors heard the utterance but not a voice was raised in disapproval.[32]

The *mores* of slavery persisted to a considerable degree in the family usages of the freedmen. Frances Leigh who spent ten years on a Georgia plantation after the war wrote of 1870 that there were many marriages that winter, "and wishing to encourage the girls to become moral and chaste, we made the ceremony" as imposing as possible. Not wishing to lose her parson or have the people go off the place to be married, she sent him to Savannah for ministerial licensure so that he could meet the legal requirements and perform marriages. He was found too ignorant; so all her weddings were spoiled. She found too that the negroes had their own ideas of morality, to which they adhered strictly; they did not think it wrong for a girl to have a child before marriage but were very severe upon anything like wifely infidelity. It was important to raise the tone among girls but they did not need much encouragement to early marriage and women remarried as often as they were left widows. Once a man's

[32] Morgan. *Yazoo*, 205-212.

second engagement was announced on the day of his first wife's funeral. The funeral service generally occurred about three weeks after burial.

The development of new standards had to move in the face of the old arrogance of the whites. Morgan says that when "scores of Yazoo freedmen" began to demand for their wives the same courteous treatment as decency exacted for white ladies at the hands of the public, the merchant, or callers at the house, their efforts met with contempt and often evoked greater license from those white men that had acted on the privileges of the old rule – to enter a negro's house without knocking, stand or sit with hat on, and make evil advances to the women. The old rule allowed a white man to pinch or embrace a colored woman in the store, or openly to invite immorality, or to stare at or insult her on the street. Morgan says that the great mass of the colored men came to regard him as a Moses because they were permitted to call their firesides their own.

By 1892 Mayo found steady improvement in manners and morals "even among the average class of the colored folk." An increasing number of families were living "in respectability, morality, even with many of the refinements and most of the decencies of a Christian home." He regarded the training of colored girls by devoted teachers as their bulwark.

> I am convinced [he says] from the most careful observation that the percentage of sexual failure among these young women graduates, after fair trial in these schools, is not greater than in modern "polite society," and far less than among the women of several of our immigrant peoples.

Economic conditions have influenced negro sex morals in a variety of ways not peculiar to that race. General exploitation of the poor and helpless by the

propertied class lays the basis for protean depravity whether the victims be negro or white. Low wages and a rising standard of living postpones marriage and thus makes for immorality, especially in view of the recentness of the negro's civilization. Poverty entails bad housing and vicious environment that contribute to moral delinquency. Negro women are, under existing conditions of economic demand, drawn toward the city while men are kept in the country; thus a dangerous disproportion of the sexes arises. In 1900, in fifteen cities containing each over twenty thousand negroes, females were in excess in all save Chicago. The aggregate negro population of these cities showed one hundred eighteen females to each hundred males.[33] In 1910 every one of these fifteen cities save St. Louis and Chicago showed a considerable female excess. Negro girls engaged in domestic service suffer from the same lack of attention and care on the part of employers as is the lot of domestics of other race. Major Moton says that this neglect "has had more to do with the moral degradation of negro women than any other single phase of Southern life."[34] The general suppression of the weaker race, the restriction of educational opportunity, and the common absence of the spirit of fairness toward the helot tribe prevent the development of such self-respecting and enlightened standards of behavior as become a free people.

As a result of such conditions as the foregoing, primitive traits and the heritage of slavery are slow to be eliminated. Many negroes are still uncontrolled by any serious sense of social responsibility. They give way spontaneously to impulses that civilization seeks to

[33] Dubois. *Negro American Family*, 36.

[34] Southern Sociological Congress. *Battling for Social Betterment*, 167.

keep under control. Kelsey in his *Negro Farmer* quotes a colored man as saying: "Niggers is queer folks, boss. 'Pears to me they don' know what they gwine do. Ef I go out and live in a man's house like as not I run away wid dat man's wife." In all attempts to appraise the ethical level of the race, comparison should of course be made, not with the generality of the white race with its longer heritage of freedom and opportunity, but with those portions of it that stand on the same economic plane as does the mass of the colored people.

At the opening of the twentieth century, the point where the Negro American was furthest behind modern civilization was in his sexual *mores*.[35] Immodesty, unbridled sexuality, obscenity, social indifference to purity were prevalent characteristics. Children of ten to twelve knew a hundred vile songs; they were sung in many homes without thought of impropriety. Masturbation was common among the children of both sexes and intercourse was begun shortly after or even before puberty. Open cohabitation of the unmarried was very common. Odum quotes a colored girl as saying: "A colored girl that keeps herself pure ain't liked socially. We just think she has had no chance." Women were actuated to marriage by desire for freedom from parental control and from labor and to indulge in unbridled sexual freedom. Women got standards of decorum from their ideas as to décolleté white women, from questionable novels, and from salacious theatricals.

Many matings involved no marriage ceremony and paid little regard to legal requirements; divorces were equally informal. Kelsey tells of a wife's leaving her

[35] Dubois. *Negro American Family*, 37.

husband on account of trouble over a preacher's visits. The husband "hired a wife" without thinking of moral wrong. The real wife did not lose caste, the preacher stood as well with his flock, and the "new wife" was well received. He tells also of a woman who, dissatisfied with shoes the planter furnished, left her husband for another man. Thomas professes to have known negro men to lead wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters to the sensuous embraces of white men. He alleges that it is not uncommon for men to have children by their step-daughters with the consent of the girl's mother. He declares that "a negro manhood with decent respect for chaste womanhood does not exist" and that "illegitimate motherhood is rather a recommendation in the eyes of a prospective husband." Negro attendants in hotels aped the lewdness of prominent white men who resorted thither with disreputable women. Negro men and women of good repute in northern churches made periodic visits south to procure handsome negro girls for vile purposes.

Ministerial morality was in many instances low.[36] Thomas says that negro preachers knowingly take immoral women to wife and many owe promotion to their wives' prostitution to the men higher up. According to him, "A large majority of our negro ministry is conspicuous for its licentious indulgence with female members of negro churches."

Venereal disease has become very common in the South; women bring the maladies from city to country. Odum quotes a physician with years of extensive practice among negroes of smaller communities and on plantations to the effect that venereal diseases and gynecological affections are very common; he sees few

[36] Compare Dubois, *Negro Church*, 64, 90, 155-158.

women perfectly free of them. Another physician who had specialized on negro practice declared that the leading preachers were frequently treated by him for syphilis and gonorrhea. Thomas found wifeless maternity decreasing but said that ante-nuptial infanticide was increasing at an alarming rate. A prominent white physician in a leading southern city admitted having effected over two hundred abortions on young negro women at the instance of their white lovers. Thomas declares that this medical experience can be duplicated in every southern city and in not a few northern ones. Odum quotes the opinion of a physician with experience in small places and on plantations that abortions are common and becoming more so.

The foregoing picture of negro attainments in the realm of personal purity and family morals[37] would be hopeless indeed if it were truly representative of the race. It no doubt is applicable in general to a considerable segment of the negro population even at the present day, but one fails to discern in the indictment anything peculiar to the negro as a race and it is perfectly certain that another considerable segment of the colored population is already at the opposite pole in respect to decency and cleanness and that the race taken as a whole has made notable gains since emancipation and is still improving. Strangely enough, Thomas finds among negroes a superstitious reverence for ceremonial marriage as effecting a mystic union, so that they tend to accuse of bigamy a person who remarries after severance from an impure partner.

In respect to the care and development of children and youth conditions are far from desperate. Many

[37] Thomas. *American Negro*, 177-198; Kelsey. *Negro farmer*, 65; Odum. *Social and mental Traits of the Negro*, 163-175.

parents manifest a commendable desire to protect their children from defilement. A colored minister of Richmond writes:

> I recall ten cases coming under my personal observation where mothers, living in vice, have put their children in boarding schools, Catholic homes, and in good families, when they could succeed in doing so, and these girls in most cases have been reared without having visited their mothers' homes since babyhood. In fact, it is the rule rather than the exception that mothers, leading lives of shame, do all in their power to prevent their children leading the same lives.

The white president of a North Carolina seminary says:

> One of the most touching things to come under my notice has been the many mothers who come to beg us to take their girls, saying, I know I am not what I ought to be, but I don't want her to be like me. We could fill Scotia over and over again every year with girls whose parents want them in a safe place, so that they may grow into good women.

Councill, a negro writer of intelligence, says:

> I have taught thousands of young women, and I have come in contact with thousands of mothers who are laboring under great disadvantages and sinful environments, standing alone, holding their daughters up, and the daughters holding themselves up to the highest standard of virtue.

B. F. Riley, D.D., a southern man, said in 1910:

> There is the utmost endeavor on the part of thousands of Negro mothers and wives to rectify conditions and to fortify the young womanhood of the race against the dangers of prevailing vice.[38]

Miss Lucy C. Laney, principal of Haines Institute, Augusta, Georgia, writes:

> Nothing cheers our hearts more than to see the large number of fathers who come and enter their children in school, make constant inquiry as to their progress, and who, accompanied by their wives and children, attend the public exercises of the

[38] Riley. *White Man's Burden*, 141. In chap. 10: "Negro Womanhood."

school. This interest is real; they want to know the moral status of their children, they labor for and desire the best for their children.

A number of persons engaged in the education of negroes testify to remarkable freedom of their institutions from difficulty with sexuality. Doctor Frissell of Hampton asserts "that it would be hard to find in any white institution in the North the freedom from low talk and impure life as is to be found at Hampton." Sound education has been a notable aid to negro girls. The president of the State Normal School at Petersburg, Virginia, wrote: "We have graduated one hundred and six girls from our Seminary and following the lives of these graduates with careful and constant interest, we have known of only one who has gone astray." Miss Harriet E. Giles, the white president of Spelman Seminary of Atlanta, expressed the opinion that "of the girls who have been trained in Christian schools at least ninety-five per cent live moral lives. By this, I mean those who have remained in the schools for several years."

The frequent assertion that colored women possess no virtue is untrue of a large and increasing proportion of the race. Murphy, a southern white man, has expressed the belief that the genuine moral gains of the negro woman are considerable and honorable.[39] Dr. Meserve, a white man, president of Shaw University, has indicated his belief that "there are in every community large numbers of colored women that are as chaste and pure as can be found in communities made up of other races." The Reverend Doctor Payne, the white president of Mary Holmes Seminary, West Point, Mississippi, has been "personally acquainted with many colored women who were morally as pure

[39] Compare Murphy. *Basis of Ascendancy*, 61.

as any white women" he had ever known. W. D. Weatherford adds to the weight of convincing evidence the assertion that "there are thousands of modest and self-respecting negro girls."[40] Councill, who professes to have been for years in a position to know of the virtue of young girls of his race, affirms that a vast majority of those that have come under his observation are modest and chaste.

Masculine morality, as in other races, is inferior to that of women, yet enlightenment and opportunity works beneficently even here. Miss Ellen Murray of St. Helena Island, South Carolina, a woman of long experience in work among the negroes there, said a number of years ago that "the more educated and intelligent the men grow, the more moral they become." The Reverend F. G. Woodworth, a white man, president of Tougaloo University, said that "there is an increasing number of men who have a high regard for chaste womanhood, who are earnest in the desire to protect women from impurity of every kind." Councill says that three-fourths of the negro men seeking wives aim to get chaste women and that every colored girl in the South knows this fact.

Wylly is inclined to think that the larger part of colored women acknowledging the ties of marriage feel bound to fidelity, tho before marriage and "when the quickly uttered 'we will part' has been said" they hold themselves free. The marital relation is certainly held sacred by a goodly number of negro men and women. Mrs. Orra Langhorne, a southern white woman, has said: "There is a respectable class, and this class is increasing, where married parents live virtuous lives, guard the sanctity of their homes, and strive to

[40] "Growing social Effort in the South": in the *Survey*, vol. xxxvi, 196.

bring up their children in the path of virtue." Miss Sarah Collins of Baltimore has known "of homes among both the cultivated and ignorant whose sanctity is unbroken and whose atmosphere is as pure as true manhood, faithful womanhood, and innocent, happy childhood can make it." Miss Laney was interested "to find what a large number of Negroes are true, and have been true, to their marriage vows." It was "not an unusual thing to find those who have lived faithfully together for fifty, sixty and sixty-five years." Mrs. Sylvanie Williams of New Orleans has said:

> As to illegitimate motherhood of Negro women, I will state that when I first began teaching among the freedmen, I was much surprised to find that in a family of several children each had a different name. I have watched that phase of the situation . . . and have been pleased to see how they have improved, until today I find, in my school, families of six or more children having the same father, and the celebration of crystal and even silver weddings is quite common.

The fact that the negro is still notably behind the best standards of sex life does not necessarily mean that he is inherently more vicious than his neighbors; it does mean that he is more primitive and less fortunate. The gains that have been made have come in the face of poverty, ignorance, and oppression and are consequently the more notable. One is especially impressed by such an utterance as that of the Reverend Owen Waller of Washington:

> I was bred in England, during my most impressionable years, among the sturdy, moral, upper middle class, and now after ten years' work among the colored people, I can truly say that, class for class, circumstances compared, except for differences of complexion, one would not realize the change, certainly not in conduct and morals.[41]

[41] On the foregoing points see Dubois, *Negro Church*, 176-185; Councill, *American Negro*; Martin, *Our Negro Population*, 124.

The Atlanta University study of the *Negro American Family* regards as "the greatest and most patent fact" of family *mores* since emancipation "the emergence from the mass, of successive classes with higher and higher sexual morals." There is wide-spread sexual irregularity.

> But this irregularity belongs to the undifferentiated mass: some of them decent people, but behind civilization by training and instinct. Above these and out of these are continually rising . . . classes who must not be confounded with them. Of the raising of the sex *mores* of the Negro by these classes the fact is clear and unequivocal: they have raised them and are raising them. There is more female purity, more male continence, and a healthier home life today than ever before among Negroes in America. The testimony supporting this is overwhelming. . . [But while] the tendencies are hopeful, still the truth remains: sexual immorality is probably the greatest single plague spot among Negro Americans, and its greatest cause is slavery and the present utter disregard of a black woman's virtue and self-respect, both in law court and custom in the South.[42]

An important factor in the problem of the negro family is the fact that the master race is not overly concerned over the moral well-being of the weaker people. There is opposition to the increase of farm ownership by the negroes; for though the home may thus be improved, the labor supply from which profit may be extracted is reduced. W. D. Weatherford tells of a "bright, splendid negro girl" who went to school and learned how to keep house, how to make a home, and then married and established her own home. The white woman in whose kitchen the girl had worked before she went to school objected vigorously to the girl's making a home and living in it. "But," said Doctor Weatherford, "her husband is a good work-

[42] Dubois. *Negro American Family*, 38-42.

man, he makes a good living, why should this girl not have the right to make a home? She is a human being, she can make her contribution to her own people by making a true Christian home." The lady, however, still held that the only contribution the girl could really make to humanity was as cook in some white woman's kitchen.[43]

The general problem of sex and family morality needs to be studied also in the light of the housing and environmental conditions for which the white race is largely responsible.

The negro home in the rural South is "for the most part either the actual slave home or its lineal descendant." After emancipation, the roving propensities of the negroes were to some degree counteracted by offering better wages and better houses. "Frame cabins and board floors came gradually to replace the worst of the slave quarters." This change was gradual and was presently checked by Debt Slavery which could keep the tenant by legal process, thus making it unnecessary to hold out special attractions. "In the course of decades, however, a change was noticeable." The dirt floor is practically gone, many of the log cabins have been replaced by frame buildings, and glass windows have come in to some extent. The development of peasant proprietorship after the war was a factor making for better housing. The black landowner built a cabin with a few improvements. "He put a porch on the front, perhaps, cut one or two windows, and at last added a lean-to on the back for a kitchen. He beautified the yard and his wife made some tasty arrangements indoors. If he went further than this in the number of rooms or the furniture, the

[43] Southern Sociological Congress. *Call of the New South*, 223.

chances are that he got his new ideas from his friends who had moved to town," where some negroes built two to four room houses. Still a large per cent of the rural families even yet live in one room. Very recently the writer heard a Mississippi gentleman express the opinion that one hundred fifty dollars was sufficient money to put into the building of a tenant house.

The negro country home still suffers from poor light, owing to the general absence of glass windows; bad air, worse in frame houses than in the old huts with chinks between the logs, and leading to pulmonary disease; lack of elementary sanitary appliances; inadequate protection against the weather; overcrowding, which in the matter of sleeping space, is worse in the Black Belt than in the tenement districts of large cities; unwholesome food and water; lack of privacy; lack of beauty. Conditions vary for better or for worse according to section. "On the whole, however, the one and two-room cabins still prevail and the consequences are bad health, bad morals, and dissatisfaction with country life."

A promising movement in behalf of better rural homes has begun in some places in connection with the schools. One interesting development is work during the summer by industrial teacher and demonstration agent with clubs of girls in raising gardens and canning vegetables and fruit. They visit the girls in their homes and give lessons in cooking and sewing. A state supervisor reports a summer visit to one county during which he revisited some of the homes that he saw the year before when the work was started. Most of the homes were on small plots of from five to twenty-five acres and were neither painted nor whitewashed. The

first year many of the gardens grew up in weeds or were destroyed by chickens or cows. All were much better cultivated the second year and the inspector saw not one that had been neglected. "Over seventeen hundred jars of vegetables were put up, about six times as many as were put up in the whole season the first year." In another county where the teacher had been working for two years, practically every home visited was neatly whitewashed and everything about the homes seemed in good repair. This condition was largely the result of the work of the industrial teacher. Back yards and porches were clean; the gardens were mostly well kept. "The teacher's services were very much in demand by the older people who wanted to learn better ways of canning." In one home the teacher had introduced all the sanitary measures necessary to protect the family from tuberculosis of which the father had died. Clearly the girls and some of the mothers get from this agency a kind of education that is having a distinct effect on the homes. The beneficent results will in time disarm the prejudices of those parents who object to their children doing anything in school save book work.

Some of the teachers during the summer do much of their work with the women. The Women's Home Improvement Club of one county reported as follows the good results that had come from the movement:

> More berries, vegetables, and fruits have been canned and more dried than ever before in this community. A new inspiration has gone out from one housekeeper to another, and one seems to be vieing with the other as to who will have the greatest number to report. Now that the canning season is fairly over, we are turning our attention to handicrafts. . . We find a great deal of pleasure in our work and feel it a

blessing to have one in our midst who is capable of instructing us in so many ways.[44]

When the country negro migrates to the village he has a chance to rise or to fall. "The successful ones give the first evidence of awakening in improved housing—more rooms, larger windows, neater furniture, the differentiation of sleeping-room, kitchen, and parlor, and general improvement in tidiness and taste. The worst immigrants sink into village slums, where vice by concentration and example assumes dangerous forms." The village has more vice than does the country; on the other hand it has more civilization. In some towns the majority of negroes are home owners.

"The nucleus of negro population in southern cities is the alley." Residences in back yards with entrance through neighboring alleys and minor streets are scarcely more desirable than the alley homes. Thus the term "alley residence" may be used for the "average rented quarters of poor negroes" in southern cities. In these cramped quarters the people live in miserable hovels with vile surroundings, a prey to disease, vice, and all manner of evils. Boarders and lodgers often share two rooms with a family of four. In hundreds of negro homes, elemental facilities for housekeeping are wanting. The alley or yard is full of garbage, ashes, stagnant water, and decaying carcasses. In the yards are water closet, wood-house, pig and poultry pens, garbage cans, and water supply. One privy often serves a tenement of thirty families or all the houses on an alley block. Negroes live in such places, not because of racial unfitness, but because no more "is expected of

[44] Southern Sociological Congress. *South Mobilizing for Social Service*, 420-427.

him or made possible for him. He has been taught that his wage earnings make no better home possible, and that his value as a citizen requires nothing higher of him."[45] Many negroes that have to live in the alley make pathetic attempts to better conditions by moving from house to house, from alley to alley. But they are helpless.[46] It is well known that negro houses bring highest returns to the landlord and the occupants must suffer. Southern real estate dealers say that negro shacks and cabins often yield from fifteen to twenty per cent on their cash value.[47] But the modern sanitary facilities can not be had and when the negro attempts to move to localities where they are provided prejudiced opposition encounters him. It is frequently impossible to purchase lots or houses in desirable localities.[48]

The city of Washington has been a grave historic offender in respect to alley housing. The Civil War brought a large influx of negroes, who had to put up with whatever shelter they could find. Often rough leaky shacks were occupied for years by growing families at exorbitant rentals. Ten years after the war, according to the report of a health officer

> Leaky roofs, broken and filthy ceilings, dilapidated floors, overcrowded, below grade, having stagnant water underneath, no drainage, no pure water supply, no fire protection, having filthy yards, dilapidated, filthy privy and leaky privy box, in bad sanitary condition generally, and unfit for human habitation, described, with few exceptions, the condition of these hovels where the poorest class of our population stay out their miserable

[45] Trawick. "Lack of proper Home Life among Negroes," 111-116.

[46] — *Ibid.*, 118-119.

[47] Southern Sociological Congress. *South Mobilizing for Social Service*, 405, 415.

[48] Southern Sociological Congress. *Battling for Social Betterment*, 126; *South Mobolizing for Social Service*, 408.

existence, and for which they pay rents varying from $2.50 to $10.00 per month.

Miss De Graffenried's report published in 1896 exposes the huddling and indecency of Washington alley life.[49] The story might be continued to the present.

The promiscuous huddling enforced upon the negroes by inadequate housing both in country and city is responsible for much of the oft cited immorality, though often in crowded quarters there is peculiar ingenuity in guarding the children. What wonder if indiscriminate cohabitation of members of a family is somewhat common![50]

The Atlanta University study which furnishes so much valuable information on the subject under consideration, expresses the opinion that it is in general in the city that the negro home has come to its best. Many homes equal the best American homes in cleanliness, purity, and beauty. "This class is small and grades quickly down to homes which may be criticized; and still, as representing the best, there is good argument for calling these at least as characteristic of the race as the alley hovels." Negroes that have won a home admitting of some standards of culture largely lose their migratory habits. The best negro settlements, however, are subject to the intrusion of the worst sort of whites, for the vice district of a city is likely to be in the negro quarter. Respectable negroes often find it impossible to protect themselves against evil resorts.[51]

The evil environmental conditions of the negro home make especially difficult the normal rearing of chil-

[49] Dubois. *Negro American Family*, 62-64.

[50] Odum. *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*, 164.

[51] Southern Sociological Congress. *Battling for Social Betterment*, 119, 127; Dubois, *Negro American Family* furnishes much of the foregoing information.

dren. At the Southern Sociological Congress of 1913 it was reported that "according to Hoffman, over fifty per cent of the negro children born in Richmond, Va., die before they are one year old. This is due primarily to sexual immorality, enfeebled constitutions of parents, and infant starvation."[52] It was brought out also that

> In Washington City the death-rate of negro infants from all diseases is from two and a half to nearly four times that of white infants; while the death-rate of negro infants from tuberculosis is nearly four and a half times the death-rate of white infants from this disease. This disproportionate death-rate among negroes is not entirely explainable in terms of race alone.[53]

Maternal absence, ignorance, or toil occasion high rates for still-births and infant mortality. Untrained doctors and midwives do much harm. Many women in smaller places and on plantations do not have physicians at confinement.

Southern cities do not provide playgrounds for negro children.

> Most of the parks are not open to them, most of the ball fields are closed against them, most of the vacant lots are forbidden ground to groups of negro children, and even the negro school grounds are so restricted in most cases that coöperative games are next to impossible. . . Rev. John Little has opened two little play spots – not playgrounds; they aren't that big – in Louisville, and the negro children are so thick there that every hour these places are open you cannot get a picture of the grounds because of the children.[54]

If children of the negro section congregate to play, they have their sport over garbage piles, around surface closets, in abandoned outhouses, among rank weeds,

[52] Southern Sociological Congress. *South Mobilizing for Social Service*, 364-365.

[53] — *Ibid.*, 389-390.

[54] — *Ibid.*, 357-358.

in the slime of an open sewer, and over offal that the rain has not removed. Negro children of this station can not really play. Boys fight, play craps, or "in the corner of an abandoned building they pass on the suggestions which their indecent surroundings have brought to their mind." Girls have no room at home for games, parties, or make-believe housekeeping. Such toys as they perchance have are rescued from garbage heaps.

> It is scarcely possible to imagine anything more pathetic than the complete absence of play in the lives of negro children who inhabit city alleys. For them there are no visits to parks, no story hour, theaters, museums, or libraries; no eager, bounding, self-directing sport; no sharing in the physical hilarity that makes American youth the wonder and delight of the nation.[55]

In the overcrowded home there is little room for the child. Children are perhaps crowded away from the table and eat at irregular hours anything they can find in the house or outside. Children often have to wait for breakfast till the mother brings something from the table of the whites – not infrequently late in the morning. Likewise with other meals. Children "are crowded out of the beds, and in order to accommodate strangers they sleep often on the floor without mattresses, covering, or change of clothing."[56] Training is likely to be lax; children if not in school can run wild while their parents are at work. Some have engaged in objectionable work such as picking rags and junk, with risk of infection. At certain seasons country children may have to assist at picking cotton or other farm work.

Emancipation from slavery tended to break up families. Sometimes the young and strong deserted the

[55] Trawick. "Lack of proper Home Life among Negroes," 113-114.

[56] — *Ibid.*, 113.

aged, the feeble, and the children, leaving them to shift for themselves or to remain on the hands of master or mistress. Thousands, however, attended to duty. Some negroes still live in families to which their ancestors belonged.

Freedom had also some disturbing influence on family discipline. Frances Leigh found that the old rule of wifely submission still held good, and she once found a woman sitting on the church steps in great distress because she had been turned out of church for refusing to obey her husband in a small matter. "So I had to intercede for her, and on making a public apology before the whole congregation she was readmitted." Morgan found a somewhat different aspect of affairs. He says that Grant and Colfax badges caused almost innumerable domestic troubles; for if a freedman lacked the courage to wear his at home on the plantation in the presence of "ole massa and missus" or of the overseer, his wife would often wear it. If the husband refused to surrender it she would walk to town, sometimes twenty or thirty miles, and return flaunting her emblem of freedom. Latterly the Woman's Club movement has spread among the negroes, resulting in the formation of a National Association of Colored Women's Clubs.[57]

Some of the older and more intelligent negroes restrained their children from over hasty innovations, but there was a great anarchy in consequence of emancipation. Old massa and missus were no longer in control; parents spent their energy "going to town" by day and "going to meeting" by night. When parental control was undertaken much of it was childish or brutal. A provoked mother would fall furiously upon her child

[57] Dubois. *Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans*, 47-64.

"beating it as a former master would never have suffered her to abuse his property." White intervention would bring more blows as an assertion of the mother's freedom.[58] In later years old negroes trained in bondage found cause to lament the waywardness of their children. Many of the younger generation proved trifling, dishonest, and inefficient, and averse to domestic service. Fondness for education has been a saving grace. Charleston after the war was reported to be a city "of idle ragged negroes, who, with no visible means of support nevertheless sent an astonishing multitude of children to school."[59] Parental ambition was often misguided. In the period after the war, parents suffered and sacrificed in order to keep their children from work.[60] The problem of what to plan for the future of the child is still a perplexing one. Mrs. Florence Kelley says:

> It is perhaps in some respects harder for intelligent negro parents to face the future animated by hope for their children in the North, than it is in the South. For bitter is the disillusionment of the colored mother who has slaved at the washtub a dozen years to give her boys and girls the advantages of the schools, only to find that those schools have led the children into a blind alley in relation to occupation, fitting them only for work to which colored boys and girls are not admitted.[61]

The negro family of today finds special obstacles to cohesion. In so far as mothers work in field or domestic service, family life is interrupted. It is often late in the evening before they finally return from work and then they wish to go out. The entire family is rarely together during waking hours. Says Odum: "The

[58] Underwood. *Women of the Confederacy*, 309; Avary. *Dixie after the War*, 194-195.

[59] Compare Powers, *Afoot and Alone*, 42-43.

[60] Commons. *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems*, 357.

[61] Southern Sociological Congress. *Battling for Social Betterment*, 135.

associations and good cheer which might come from the home and meals taken together are almost wholly wanting." Trawick adds:

> There is no counsel between parents and children, no reading around a table, no asking and answering questions, no story-telling or games, no singing, no cultivation of habits or manners, no prayers with the family, and no giving of thanks at meals.

Many husbands are brutal to their wives, and parents are rough with their children. Odum found that family relations are not pleasant. After the children have grown up "the family is not united in purpose, spirit, or in physical presence." There is much to substantiate the common assertion, says Odum, "that the members of negro families are more separated now than in the time of slavery." In many instances parents old and almost helpless have been deserted by their children. Parents lose track of their children and children wander away and lose track of their parents. "The one desire of the younger negroes," Odum says, "appears to be freedom from work and parental control." Hart found that in the lower South the old were in some cases well looked after by kindred. Desertion by fathers he regarded as serious, but concluded that children were seldom left without caretakers. The habit of adoption is widespread and negroes have begun to support day nurseries.

Southern negroes show a higher rate of widowhood among both sexes than do the native whites of native parentage in that section of the country. Odum (whose study was based on fifty towns in the lower South) found a considerable number of negro women living alone, "occupying ten to fifteen per cent of the total number of cottages; many others live in small

cottages with their children, there being some ten per cent of the total number of families with a woman at the head."

The census of 1910 showed the negroes of the United States somewhat more given to marriage than native whites of native parentage, and noted moreover that the negroes generally marry earlier than whites of native parentage. Odum says that the negro's question before marrying is not whether he can support a family, but whether he has anything to go in the house. A study of negro college graduates indicates that the bulk of college men apparently marry between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, or nearly ten years later than their parents.[62]

As the negro becomes pervaded with the influences of modern civilization, his birth-rate grows less. Odum found a large proportion of parents without legitimate children, "in general from fifteen to twenty per cent of the families." The typical family he found to consist of three to six members; many had seven to twelve, tho relatively few ran above eight or nine. In a number of instances a family of ten to fourteen was found occupying two or three rooms. "Such a family may include the daughter who has been deserted by her husband or has deserted him, or an unmarried daughter with one or two children. . . The average family among the negroes is not so large as in former years." Sometimes married sons or daughters continue to live at home.

In the nature of things it is probably easier for the negro woman in the city to secure suitable employment than it is for the man, particularly if his work encounters white competition.[63] This circumstance may partly

[62] Dubois. *College bred Negro*, 59.

[63] Dubois. *Social and physical Condition of Negroes in Cities*, 7.

account for the fact that many women support the family "while their dissolute husbands roam about in wanton idleness." The white family with a negro cook is likely to be mulcted for the support of her household. Men of special charm by reason of light color are specially fitted to become parasites in such fashion. On the other hand, many women refuse to work and neglect the home. The husband must cater to the wife or she threatens infidelity. The negro woman is proverbial for her skill in getting the dollar from the man.[64]

Interesting light on the possibilities of negro home and family life is given in Ovington's study of the negro in New York. She has seen thousands of negro homes and testifies that no matter how dingy the tenement or how long the hours of labor, the parents try to have a real home.

> Given the same income . . . the colored do not allow their surroundings to become so cheerless or so filthy as the white, and . . . when there is an opportunity for the mother to spend some time in the house, the rooms take on an air of pleasant refinement. . . Meals are not eaten out of the paper bag common on New York's East Side, but there is something of formality about the dinner, and good table manners are taught the children.

The children are happy in the home and show gentle affection for the mother. The father is often seen wheeling the baby or playing with the older children. In the homes you find some coarseness, but little brutality; rarely does a parent strike a child. Colored women work from the age of fifteen on through married life. They are disposed to spare their children hardship; grandmother, in turn, is treated in the children's household with respect and consideration; she is

[64] Odum. *Social and mental Traits of the Negro*, 156-157.

useful as nurse. There are in New York one hundred twenty-three[65] negro women to one hundred men. Surplus women "play havoc" sometimes with their neighbors' sons or husbands, and support idle, able-bodied men. Miscegenation is not uncommon tho intermarriage with whites is negligible.[66]

Dubois' study of the *Philadelphia Negro* is not encouraging. True family life was unknown to the majority. Women outnumbered the men: cases of temporary cohabitation, support of men by women, and wife desertion were common. Less than a sixteenth owned their own homes – in the "City of Homes!" The moral evolution of sex and family relationships among the negroes as among all peoples waits on the attainment of economic leeway.

[65] In 1910, one hundred eighteen.

[66] Ovington. *Half a Man*, chapters 3, 6.

IV. THE NEW BASIS OF AMERICAN LIFE

The most fundamental fact of social change since the Civil War is economic. In the half century since Appomattox urban industry and enlarging capitalism have been growing more and more dominant in American life. The positive influence of these factors together with the complementary transformation of rural conditions accounts for most of the distinctive features of family evolution during the period. Such being the case, our first step toward a basal understanding of this critical era in the history of the family is to get a grasp of the economic fundamentals.

The great growth of urban centers in the United States has been primarily a result of industrial expansion since 1820. Its rate was at the maximum about the middle of the nineteenth century but its mass is of growing significance. From 1800 to 1840 the urban percentage increased slightly more than it did from 1860 to 1900 (places of eight thousand and over); but it is only since 1860 that the percentage has become great enough to be especially worthy of attention and to forebode the dominance of American life by overwhelming city influence. Moreover the revolutionary development of agriculture since the War has itself furthered the process of urbanization by making the farmer dependent on the manufacturer, so that a large share of the work of plowing, seeding, cultivating, harvesting, and threshing is now in reality done in city factories—where the machinery is invented and pro-

duced. The fabrication of the raw materials into goods for consumption has likewise largely left the farm. Between 1850 and 1900 the number of farm workers only doubled while the quantity and value of farm produce increased twenty-fold. The very improvement, too, of rural life by modern facilities signifies simply the introduction of city ways.

Rapid rise in city population was well under way in the years after the Civil War. The movement away from the farms was notable after the panic of 1873. The disappearance of free land in the eighties concluded the story of the rural nation. On the eve of the war sixteen per cent of our population lived in places of eight thousand or over; in 1910, nearly forty per cent, or, if we count all places of twenty-five hundred inhabitants and up, forty-six per cent. The new immigration has enormously accentuated the congestion. The lower East Side of New York is perhaps the most densely populated spot on the globe. Certain eastern states, such as Rhode Island and Massachusetts, are almost cities so far as their population is concerned.

Traditionally the country is the ideal home environment as contrasted with the ugliness and vice of cities. It was natural therefore that after the war (as indeed before it) students of social problems should air the "problem of the city." Conditions in the homes of the proletariat were disclosed that warranted amazement, disgust, and anger on the part of the citizen. Conservatives attributed insurgency of labor to the activities of demagog politicians but the real observer was forced to see that social ethics and the morale of the family are not abstract considerations to be created by palaver or settled by parlor philosophers, but concrete realities inseparable from the economic pressure of life.

Industry in the factory towns of the United States came to a family basis – employing not individuals but families. Thus, while nominally keeping the family intact, it abolished the substance – the home. In 1868 the Massachusetts Senate published a statement from the superintendent of schools in Fall River to the effect that

> The operatives are for the most part families, and do the work in the mills by the piece, taking in their children to assist. . . The families are large . . . and the mill owners are not willing to fill up their houses with families averaging perhaps ten members and get no more than two of all the number in the mill. The families are also, in most instances, so poor that the town would have to aid them, if the children were taken from their work.

By 1875 it was clearly affirmed that "men with growing families" is the standard demand in many Bay State centers.

At that time an official study of three hundred ninety-seven families of Massachusetts workingmen "with comparatively few exceptions having children dependent upon them" indicated that less than thirty-six per cent of the heads of families could by their individual earnings supply their families' needs; the rest relied on the assistance of wives and children. "Of the skilled workmen, fifty-six per cent get along 'alone;' of the unskilled, but nine per cent; of the salaried overseers, seventy-five per cent."

The report draws from "careful inspection of the facts . . . some unavoidable conclusions:"

> *First.* That in the majority of cases workingmen in this Commonwealth do not support their families by their individual earnings alone.
>
> *Second.* That the amount of earnings contributed by wives, generally speaking, is so small, that they would save more by staying at home, than they gain by outside labor.

Third. That fathers rely, or are forced to depend, upon their children for from one-quarter to one-third of the entire family earnings.

Fourth. That children under fifteen years of age supply, by their labor, from one-eighth to one-sixth of the total family earnings.

Fifth. That more than one-half of the families save money, less than one-tenth are in debt, and the remainder make both ends meet.

Sixth. That without children's assistance, other things remaining equal, the majority of families would be in poverty or debt.

Seventh. That savings, by families and fathers alone, are made in every branch of occupation investigated; but that in only a few cases is there evidence of the possibility of acquiring a competence, and in those cases it would be the result of assisted or family labor.

Furthermore:

That, from our investigations, we find no evidence or indication that workingmen spend large sums of money extravagantly, or for bad habits.[67]

This report is representative of conditions widely prevalent and persistent under the present system of industry. Women continued to enter the field of industrial competition largely by reason of the low wages of men in many lines. The Avelings, who were in this country in the mid eighties, "everywhere . . . found women forced to work for wages because the husband's were insufficient for even bare subsistence." They found that at Fall River, "parents are obliged to . . . send children to the mills to earn sufficient for the maintenance of their family." At New York in the mid eighties "without the wages earned by children, parents would be unable to support their families." In New Jersey, the Avelings found, the men's

[67] Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. *Sixth Annual Report*, part iv.

"remuneration because of female and child competition has been reduced to such an extent that only with the aid received from other members of the family are they able to keep the wolf from the door." In Kansas, "Children, as a rule, are taken from school when they are of an age to perform any kind of manual labor – say twelve to fourteen years." [68] In 1894 John Swinton said:

> A father . . . finds . . . he cannot earn enough . . . for the maintenance of his household; he asks his daughter, or, in many a case his wife, to help him to eke out a living. . . I know that the pay in the cheap clothing trades, at which between thirty and forty thousand people are employed in New York City alone, has become so pitiful that the work of both the husband and the wife, both the boy and the girl of the family, for the livelong day, is needed for the payment of rent and the purchase of food that is often unfit for consumption.

Recent studies of wages and living leave the student convinced that a large proportion of the workingmen of the United States are still incapable of entirely supporting their families.

It is a notable fact that the development of family industry whether in factory or sweat-shop has never availed to lift the laboring class above the poverty line. When a community sinks so low as to put its mothers and babes to work, the new combined wage tends to equal the father's former wage. This tendency has been known for at least a generation. There is often danger, moreover, that the women and children will supersede the men as bread-winners. A writer of 1880 says that in many instances workingmen's wives had for several years supported their families almost entirely. While there was no work for the men, the women did

[68] Aveling. *Working-class Movement in America*, second edition, 98-101.

washing, sewing, and general housework. Some women were doing the washing for half-a-dozen families each week. Families often lived upon what the wife and mother got for several days' work each week. Sometimes the men assisted in the housework and even in the washing that was taken in, "but I have seen few workingmen who seemed able or inclined to render much assistance in women's work, although idle for months together."[69] The Avelings quote a Lawrence weaver to the effect that:

> One of the evils existing in this city is the gradual extinction of the male operative. . . Within a radius of two squares in which I am living, I know of a score of young men who are supported by their sisters and their mothers, because there is no work in the mills for them.

In some places the tendency to the substitution of women for men on account of their greater cheapness resulted in the development of "she towns"—places in which the mill hands were women, the housekeepers men.

Such a state of affairs is demoralizing to the laborer's self-respect. In probably thousands of cases in the great centers of industry a workingman soldiers on the job of supporting his family, contents himself with less than he could earn, and accepts the assistance of wife and children. Mrs. Florence Kelley wrote in 1909: "There is a recent great increase in the cases in which mothers of little children have gone out to work because the husband was unemployed." Sometimes the wife has displaced her husband at a machine, working of course for a lower wage. Some fathers have stayed at home and looked after the children while their wives worked at their machines for a third less pay. On the

[69] *Certain dangerous Tendencies in American Life, and other Papers*, 106-107.

other hand, even when the man is at work and doing his best, many wives have to develop high efficiency in making ends meet on microscopic pay.

Modern business congestion has entailed the bee-hive tenement. The New York *Graphic* of March 13, 1874, contained an editorial upon the "Homes of the Poor," from which the following extract is taken:

> Some of the facts brought to light by visitors among our poor people are heart-harrowing enough. . . In some instances the visitors have been so affected by the odors and infections of the stived tenements, where scores of human beings are huddled together, as to be incapacitated for further work. . . [In Massachusetts the commissioners of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor have found a large proportion of the dwellings of the poor] dingy, unventilated, unwholesome, and thoroly demoralizing in every respect. . . Here is one of their instances: "In a single building, in the town of W., thirty-two feet long, twenty feet wide, three stories high, with attics, there habitually exist thirty-nine people of all ages. For their use there is one pump and one privy, within twenty feet of each other, with the several sink-spouts discharging upon the ground near by. The windows are without weights, and the upper sashes are immovable. No other provision is made for fresh air. Scores of similar overcrowded and uncleanly tenements exist and could be cited."

In 1877 a writer on social pathology says of New York City that the majority of tenement houses are old buildings erected for other purposes, partitioned off "so as to give each family a living room ten by twelve feet, a bedroom six by four feet, while no regard is paid to ventilation or domestic conveniences." Into each apartment a family of from three to five persons was crowded. The degree of overcrowding in the tenements of New York City then exceeded that of any other large city of the civilized world. In numerous instances damp, dark, filthy cellars had been rented at from twenty-five to seventy-five dollars per month.

The Massachusetts State Board of Health affirmed that the homes of the laboring classes in Boston were overcrowded and unwholesome, abodes of misery, injurious to health, morals, and political purity of the community. Seven people in four rooms! thirty-one people in fourteen rooms! Comfortable Bostonians were surprised to hear of conditions. "But the worst of all is that it is not only New York, Boston, Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Louisville, New Orleans, in short, the very large cities, it is fully as bad in the smaller manufacturing towns everywhere."[70]

A writer of 1879 says (seemingly of Cincinnati):

> Within a stone's throw of the most aristocratic portions of this city . . . there is another civilization, or rather absence of it, where thousands of human beings are crowded like cattle in the pens, and lose all the sympathies of humanity in a greedy struggle for their common pittance of air, and light and water.[71]

It is scarcely necessary to follow to the present day the scenario of tenement horrors, which even yet show small sign of abatement in form, and in volume are multiplied. New York has a vile slum city of over a million souls, and while all along, a certain proportion of the working class in all parts of the country has had the possibility of some comfort and decency of housing, the conditions of wholesome family life in this respect are still wanting for a shameful proportion of the population in city and in village. The system is inevitably destructive of all the finer elements in life above the level of blindly instinctive sympathies and sacrifices. A workingman's wife says: "The reason we don't love each other as we should is because we don't have room; we crowd each other." Individuality and privacy, es-

[70] Royce. *Deterioration and Race Education*, vol. i, 369-382.

[71] Rhodes. *Creed and Greed*, 121-123.

sential to the highest type of life and love, are impossible under the conditions of slum life maintained by the profit system. Home is incompatible with huddling.

Infant mortality is one product of impoverishment and tenement life. Some of the factors involved, aside from the general defects of neighborhood and domestic sanitation, are premarital exhaustion of the mother, inadequate care during pregnancy and at confinement, impoverished food, defective milk supply, lack of breast-milk owing to the absence of the mother at work. It was estimated in 1867 that "in some of the crowded tenement neighborhoods eighty per cent of the mortality occurred among the infant population." In Boston of that period, "seventy-five deaths among the children of the poor happening just from cholera infantum alone in twenty-four hours! And almost all under one year of age, and coming out of all proportion from the tenements of the poor. . . In 1865, a thousand children died in less than a hundred days from an epidemic."[72] Royce wrote in 1877:

> Motherhood . . . brings to a poor mother, who has to go out to work, despair, and often leads to infanticide, abandonment, dosing the children with narcotic cordials, leaving them to the charge of incompetent children, who themselves badly want watching, or to the cruelty of strangers, if not to shutting them up between cheerless walls, and converting them through this isolation . . . into semi-idiots.[73]

A writer in the *Christian Union* in 1892 said that in two New York alleys the death-rate of children under five years had reached seventy-three per cent.[74] It is no far cry to the recent investigations of the federal Children's Bureau at Johnstown, which shows the close

[72] Royce. *Deterioration and Race Education*, vol. i, 379-382.

[73] —*Ibid.*, vol. ii, 165.

[74] Strong. *New Era*, 192.

connection between infant mortality and the conditions incident upon poverty and community negligence.[75]

It is perfectly natural, that in the congestion of slum life, children should be sexually precocious and perverted. The huddling of all ages and both sexes, including boarders, leads to self-abandon and the depths of vice. Nor is there much hope for the morality of children kept on the streets till midnight by the stifling heat of the cramped rooms in summer. Of course there are compensations, such as the development of "little fathers" and "little mothers" whose childish experience as nurse to smaller brothers and sisters stands them in good stead in later life.

> When a great, strong young man picks up a baby with the ease of a woman, is interested in its ills of the moment, one is grateful for the hours that as a child, he spent as nurse; sees the beauty of strength and tenderness, and the humanizing effect of the maternal in the character of a boy whose character must be molded by the environment of a tenement-house region.[76]

The sweating system is perhaps the worst aggravation of the ills of tenement life. The Report of a Committee of the House of Representatives, *On Manufactures in the Sweating System*, vividly pictures conditions in the early nineties. According to the testimony of Mrs. T. J. Morgan, in Chicago people were living, working, sleeping in the same room. The men got from six to ten dollars a week; the women averaged from three and a half to four dollars. "In some places they do not allow children any dinner hour at all, and in several places I found they did not even allow them to eat between working hours – only morning and even-

[75] Duke. *Infant Mortality, Results of a Field Study in Johnstown, Pa.* Compare Children's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor. *Infant Mortality – Montclair, N. J.*

[76] Betts. *Leaven in a Great City*, 213-214.

ing." The compulsory school law was worthless. The report goes on to say that:

> The tenement house worker is almost invariably a foreigner, generally of a short stay in this country, frequently defective in habits or physique or in mental capacity, or a woman whom the death or worthlessness of her husband leaves to support a family, which prevents her leaving her home. Here the labor is practically all foreign born. The women are more numerous than the men, and the children are as numerous as either. The work is carried on in the one, two, or three rooms occupied by the family, which probably has, as subtenants or boarders, an equal number of outsiders. No pretence is made of separating the work from the household affairs, if such a term can be used to describe the existence of these people. The hours observed are simply those which endurance or necessity prescribe. Children are worked to death by the side of their parents, who are dying from overwork or disease.

In New York in 1911 there were thirteen thousand tenement houses licensed for home work, where every member of the family could be used without regard to age or factory law; and a license is necessary only for certain articles.

The phenomena characterized above are, on the one hand, incidents of landlordism, and on the other, of capitalist exploitation. The New York *Times* showed in 1912 that in one month five thousand two hundred seventy families of that city were evicted for non-payment of rent. As a result of high rents the poor are forced into the worst sections in increasing numbers.

"The people can neither be moral nor healthy until they have decent homes;" but it would seem that our current capitalism is willing to try the experiment of a civilization without homes. It is not merely that human beings burrow in cellars and swarm in attics like vermin and that rows of characterless houses and hideous premises not owned by their denizens inhibit the

impulse to make a home, but children are denied developmental activity in the household and are away at school or on the street and prematurely earn their own way (and independence). Women are rendered unfit for motherhood and in any case are often away at work.

> The whole family life is disorganized. At times the house is locked, the family on the streets, because the mother is fetching supplies to and from the factory. . . There has never before been an organization of industry which called women out at night to work to support their little children.[77]

Day-nurseries can not replace motherhood. Moreover thousands of fathers, working ten or twelve hours a day, rarely see their children except in bed or on Sundays and holidays. Parents and children no longer have work, amusements, or interests in common. "There are no family traditions and sanctions."

Part of the difficulty is of course due to artificial standards of consumption. A girl earning twenty dollars a week is not satisfied to stay at home unless her husband earns more than that. "The nerves of women from thirty to thirty-two years old go to pieces in a mill, so that there are plenty of women whom she can hire to take care of her children while she is at the mill." In any case she very likely knows little or nothing of motherhood and its duties.[78] In the city a child is an impediment. Even if parents were all entirely sensible and willing to practice the utmost self-denial, the margin that could be won is not great. A writer of 1910 tells us that in certain city sections "the total available space per child is only four by five feet, and this is shared by him with the automobile, trucks, wagons, push carts, and adult foot passengers."

The tenement house man seems indeed to have lost

[77] Kelley. "Invasion of Family Life by Industry," 95.

[78] Dodge. "Day Nurseries," 508.

the fruits of civilization and to have reverted to the level of primitive man with his "lack of capital, migratory habits, high birth- and child-mortality rates, maternal ignorance, uncontrolled parental affection and sense of proprietorship, sex-taboos, lack of 'self-determination' in matrimonial choice, matrimonial instability, mutterfolge (in its literal sense), animistic habits of thought."[79]

What is society doing to eliminate this atavistic degression? Says Dr. W. D. P. Bliss:

> If the wives of the unsuccessful grow discouraged and become slack before the everlasting problem of how the family can live, cook, eat, sleep, marry, and take in boarders, all in two rooms, let the agents, or better still, the wives and aesthetic daughters of the successful go down and investigate and see if the family be worthy; and if they are worthy, let them give – not money (let them never give money to the poor), but let them pour forth good advice, how to economize, how to save, how to make bone soup, how to make something out of nothing, how to save, save, save, till at last worn out by saving, they can go to a better world in a pine coffin. . .[80]

Meanwhile the exploitation of the poor as wage-earners and as consumers goes on apace and the saloon together with other forces of debauchery is fostered by the indifference if not the connivance of the upper classes.

Especially in a town dominated by one industry is the type of family largely determined by the nature of that industry,[81] whether it be an industry that keeps the whole family away from home during daylight hours; or an industry that employs the parents only, leaving the children to run the streets; or one that has work only for the father but employs him for such

[79] Parsons, in Preface to Herzfeld, *Family Monographs*.

[80] Bliss. "Social Faith of the Holy Catholic Church," 9.

[81] Byington. "Family in a typical Mill Town."

long hours that he is a stranger to his children, or for such poor wages that the family has to eke out an existence by taking in so many boarders that home is impossible, or under such toxic conditions that he begets enfeebled offspring.

The flux of modern industry has long made permanency of residence problematical and poverty has impeded home ownership. Of the three hundred ninety seven working-class families used in 1875 by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor as representative of the state only four owned the houses in which they lived. Day in his *Life and Society in America* after mentioning

> The continual introduction of machinery, the extensive employment of women, and the constant stream of immigration [which] render competition excessive, and the difficulty of obtaining work considerable, even at the best of times [goes on to say:] The migratory character of the working men of New York and other northern . . . cities is painfully apparent. Such of them as realize a little money remove to the West, and set up for themselves. . . But the large majority lead quite a vagabond life, roaming from town to town in quest of work; and in this miserable way pass their lives, entirely removed from . . . home comforts and associations.

The existence in many places of a floating population created by the unsteadiness of work in various lines of manufacture constituted a special moral problem.

In case of the receivership of Siegel's bank a few years since, a curious fact appeared. When the receiver was ready to make payments fully half of the fifteen thousand depositors could not be found; they had moved from flat to flat, from city to city, till their addresses were lost. The majority of American homes are rented. In some cities the percentage is very high. In New York City it is around ninety per

cent; in Manhattan borough, close to one hundred. In big cities one moving day a year is not enough; so we have two—one in spring and one in fall. Friends of labor counsel against stinting the family in order to accumulate property and against home ownership as a serious handicap to the freedom of movement that constitutes labor's precarious weapon of competition. If the worker does slave and save in order to buy a square box of a home very likely it is falling to bits before he gets it paid for. Of course the migratory habit develops an accession of instability and restlessness.

In the West, lumbering and the various forms of specialized agriculture have called into existence a large class of migratory laborers, "men who work in the hayfields, the wheatfields, and the orchards of several states, traveling about according to the season." These migratory laborers are generally homeless. A man with family can not move about readily and such men as follow the life for any considerable time tend to lose connection with their old homes; they have small prospect of new home connections. The absence of social ties leads to deterioration, sometimes to insanity.[82]

The conditions of capitalism have been no less demoralizing to the rich than to the poor. A dozen years after the war, for instance, Henry Edger remarked that "the existence of prostitution among us is certainly not unconnected with the existence among us also of an idle and wealthy class, a class of men without any recognized social function." Certain of the specific effects of class wealth upon the family will appear in other connections. One notable product is a growing

[82] Adams. "Public Range Lands," 335-340.

migratory class of idle rich who "have so many houses that they have no home." Others substitute hotel and club for domestic life.

Thus the effects of capitalist industrialism and modern economic stress develop a far reaching pathology of their own with a profound influence on the family. It is hard to tell whether the effects are worse in city or in country. The ease with which a city man may lead a double life joins with the exigencies of underpaid girlhood to undermine the family by the support of concubinage and prostitution; venereal disease is rampant where people mass; boys and young men thrown together in industry are swept into contagion; innocent wives are infected and rendered sterile or incapable of producing healthy offspring. Young men find ample comforts for bachelor life; they feel that they can not afford to marry, or if they do marry rebel at the burden of a family. For it is to be noted that under modern city conditions, with high standard of living, enforced to a certain extent by tenement house laws, supplies all to be purchased, a prolonged school period, coupled with prohibition of child labor, and greater expense for medical attention, a family is a heavy liability. Income, too, is uncertain. Hence the race suicide and family desertion so impressive in recent times. The city worker is exposed also to the hazards of occupational disease and accidents that disable the worker and disintegrate the family. Communistic urban habits in work and in dissipation contribute to the swamping of the narrower and simpler family life.[83]

In so far as the country, however, has not been touched with the same development as the city (as for

[83] Compare Henderson, "Are modern Industry and City Life unfavorable to the Family?"

instance by the infection of smaller communities by the defunct prostitutes from urban centers) its experience has been largely complementary to that of the population center. Hand in hand with the demoralization of the urban home has gone a certain rural decadence. As early as 1893 Josiah Strong directed attention to the decline of rural population as a cause of degeneracy.

> When population decreases and roads deteriorate there is increasing isolation, with which comes a tendency toward degeneration and demoralization. [Witness] the mountain whites. . . The writer knows of a town in one of the older New England States where such conditions [of isolation] have obtained for several generations and have produced precisely the same results – the same large families of twelve or fifteen members, the same illiteracy, the same ignorance of the Christian religion, the same vices, the same "marriage" and "divorce" without reference to the laws of God or man, which characterize the mountain whites of the South.[84]

New England deterioration has persisted. Townspeople have intermarried till there are perhaps only about five patronymics in some towns. "The idiot offspring . . . make their sadly regular appearance."

> The number of illegitimate children [says a writer on the New England village] is so large that a definite amount has been fixed by common consent as the proper one to be paid by the putative father to the parents of the unmarried mother – not infrequently men and women take wives and husbands without the formality of a divorce or a marriage – whole families are sunk in a slough of vice and poverty, from which occasionally some enterprising son or daughter will emerge, perhaps only to fall back in a moment of temptation or despair.

Mrs. Busbey says that the effects of meager living, hard work, and suppressed emotion are visible especially in the women, who lack charm and vivacity.[85]

[84] Strong. *New Era*, 165-166, 173-174.

[85] On this paragraph see Busbey, *Home Life in America*, 309, 316-317; also Review of same in *Living Age*, vol. cclxvii, 761. Compare Hartt, "New England Hill Town."

In the more prosperous farming regions the new industrialism has immensely enriched the family life, especially of the land-owning class. In many cases well-to-do farmers have been enabled to move to a village or town and enjoy all the conveniences of a city home while a tenant family does the work. Very many farm houses have been equipped with all city conveniences. The telephone, automobile, and rural mail service have removed the old isolation and made the farm family a member of a much larger community than in the old days. The injection of city civilization operates to reduce the birth-rate in the rural districts, so that it becomes necessary to consolidate rural schools and to transport the children, especially in view of the increasing reluctance of farm folk to walk long distances and the growing demand for grading in school and for the installation of high school courses. The old interesting rural social life can scarcely be sustained for want of young folks. The rural child has held continually before him in conversation, papers, and books the attractions of city life, so that the family tends to disperse in all directions, especially if the father can not materially help the boys to secure a piece of the extremely high priced farm land in his own neighborhood. Amusements become more sophisticated and less spontaneous: the moving picture house in the nearest town takes the place of the crude jollities that formerly brought the homes of the neighborhood together. In general the family becomes less self-dependent. Churning is taken away by the creamery; meat is bought already cured; soap comes from the grocery, cloth and clothing from the dry goods establishment; in some cases wash-day is taken over by a town laundry. The farm-

hand often is not a neighbor's son but an alien or tramp. Agriculture tends, as soil fertility requires replacement, to become a manufacturing industry. The rural family attains complete urbanization.

The suburbs – by-product of modern industrialism – present problems of their own. Mrs. Samuel McCune Lindsay wrote in 1909 as follows on the suburban child: He is the child of a highly selected class – people that love simplicity, reality, domestic life. Usually they are educated above the average of their circle; they are likely to be skilled, prosperous, successful. They are ambitious, industrious, domestic – very generally young married people with families of growing children. They are progressive. The child is apt to be energetic and impetuous. The environment is relatively costly. But the suburban child is almost a fatherless child. He is not under right conditions of control. Nowhere does the American child, as a class, seem under full control, but the suburban situation is unique. The town is devoid of men, of policemen. Masses of children are abroad. There is little conception of the rights of others. Public sentiment is far too largely dominated by children below sixteen.[86]

Thus the new industrialism, whether through the factors of congested urbanism, the influences in rural decay or urbanization, or the growth of transit facilities that create the suburban home has had a profound influence on the institutions of family life. It will be our task in the following chapters to trace the influence of economic fundamentals through the more important problems of the American family since the Civil War.

[86] Lindsay. "Suburban Child."

V. THE REVOLUTION IN WOMAN'S WORLD

In the previous volume we traced the beginnings of the economic and social emancipation of woman as it unfolded before and during the Civil War, but public sentiment went slowly in the matter of woman's progress until the provisional completion of western settlement and of the initiation of the new industrialism. The occupation of the newer West contributed to prestige of woman and the expansion of urban business offered to her a career and a release from many of the old limitations. Accordingly during the last decade of the nineteenth century, or thereabout, the public mind warmed rapidly to woman's advance. Then, due perhaps to the scenic attractions of world imperialism and the excitement of spectacular expansion, there was a brief lull in the welcome to feminism, but only a lull; for one of the most outstanding features of the process of adjustment to a new world economics and a new social ethics has been the persistent metamorphosis of woman's world.

Distressing conditions mark the period following the Civil War. Return of men to the ranks of industry and migration from the stricken South complicated the situation of the working woman in the North. It was urged that woman should enter the trades and professions monopolized by men, as if this venture would relieve the existing misery. Writers such as Gail Hamilton urged the higher education of women, their

right to be educated the same as man; "to enter the same pursuits, receive the same wages, occupy the same posts and professions, wield the same influence, and, in a word, be independent of man as a means of support." Already it was observed that the opening of careers to women safeguards against distress in case of husband's death, gives a security to marriage, and obviates domestic parasitism.

Proposals to annex a new sphere for womanhood met severe condemnation. The fact that woman had always been engaged in some kind of industry was overlooked. "The New Departure" was deplored as calculated, by thwarting her natural use as child-bearer, child-trainer, and house-mother, to rob her of her womanliness. She was implored to stop and consider what would become of the home if "woman was to take her place beside man in every field of coarse rough toil." The fatuity of these arguments was that while woman was depicted as the tender, clinging vine or as the presiding genius of the home, the census of 1860 showed one million women working by the side of men in various domains of "coarse, rough toil" and the Civil War had notably accelerated the entrance of woman into industry. The drawing-room writers forgot the great world of women without homes. The condition of seventy-five thousand working women in New York City just after the war was indescribable. They lived in "nasty tenement houses, in cellars unfit for human habitation, in pools of foulness, where every impurity is matured and every vice flourishes."[87]

Woman was probably crowded into industry faster than fundamental needs warranted. Had it not been

[87] Compare Meyer, *Woman's Work in America*, chap. xi, especially 285-288.

a question of capitalist profit, much of the work might still have been done by men. The new invasion constituted a palpable menace to the army of labor and to the standard of living. In an address of the National Labor Congress to the working men of the United States in 1867, A. C. Cameron pointed out that the laboring class "have objected and naturally, too, to the introduction of female labor when used as a means to depreciate the value of their own," but that where women are qualified for the work they are entitled to be treated as the equals of men and to receive the same compensation. The address urged working men to protest against unfair discrimination and to lend their powerful influence to the effecting of a reform.[88]

Up to this time the admission of women to labor organizations was unknown and such innovation was not welcomed by all apostles of the rights of man. Reactionaries opposed for a long time after the National Labor Union adopted in 1868 the following resolution:[89]

> Resolved, that we pledge our individual and undivided support to the sewing-women and daughters of toil in this land, and would solicit their hearty coöperation, knowing, as we do, that no class of industry is so much in need of having their condition ameliorated, as the factory operatives, sewing-women, etc., of this country.

A new chivalry grew up in response to the new conditions. Recognition of the fact that women were more oppressed than men and that the condition of the masses could not be permanently bettered unless the lot of working women was improved led the Knights of Labor to try to help women to secure better wages and conditions. This effort was manifested in very

[88] *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, vol. ix, 156-157.
[89] Powderly. *Thirty Years of Labor*, 81, 90.

many ways. When girls struck against indecent treatment in factories they found in the Knights ardent champions, and large contributions came to the women from them and from other organized working men. Ely cites as typical the case of an American who, having abused his wife, was expelled from the order. Word was sent to Canada, whither he had gone, to have no dealings with the unworthy scoundrel. The working men of Baltimore also started a coöperative shirt factory in order to help the poor sewing women.[90]

The reasons that have led women away from the home and into outside industry are manifold. Daughters have desired to help father and mother, to keep brothers and sisters in school, to live better, to lay by something for the rainy day or for their marriage fund. Wives have entered industry in order to support invalid or worthless husbands or to aid in bringing up a large family; widows in order to support themselves. The danger has been that the girl or woman would regard her income as a perquisite or as a supplement to the family budget and thus would not expect to be entirely self-supporting. Thus Henry Edger in the *Radical Review* of 1877 declared

> It is the competition of woman in part provided for by their families, and especially of women having all their necessities provided for, and who work only for an extra ribbon for their bonnets, that brings down often so nearly to nothing the wages of others doomed to choose between labor, prostitution, and death from starvation.

Helen Campbell in her *Women Wage Earners* pointed out that in Massachusetts many of the girls lived at home, paid little or no board, and so were able to take a lower wage than the self-supporting worker. Hundreds that wanted pin money worked at a price impos-

[90] Ely. *Labor Movement in America*, 82-83.

sible for the self-supporting worker, "many married women coming under this head; and bitter complaint is made on this point." On the other hand, an investigation of several years before in twenty-two American cities showed over half the single women not only supporting themselves but helping to support the home. Many helped in the housekeeping.

The defensive interests of labor have suffered at the hands of the working girl inasmuch as she does not count herself a permanent industrial worker and consequently has not been sufficiently amenable to trades union discipline. The women that enter industry in order "to be more independent than at home, to exercise their coquetry and amuse themselves, to make pin money for luxuries" are especially unqualified to bear the brunt of the labor struggle.

There is still a certain reluctance to give work to married women and in some places it is still not quite the thing for a wife to work for pay outside the home. She may dabble in charity or missions but is restrained from remunerative labor. Perhaps it is well that there should be a certain resistance to the trend toward female industrialism. To prefer public industry to domestic parasitism and subordination is well, but in so far as the movement away from the home has been abnormally accelerated by false standards of domestic and social life, apprehension is in order.

There is, of course, a clear connection between conditions of female employment and the status of morals. After the first precautions with native New England girls were past, factory life began to present untoward aspects that tended to ruin. Burn's opinion, formed in the early sixties, was that it was quite common for girls tired of country life to go to town, find work,

live at first in a boarding house "and end their careers in the streets." He said:

> If the morals of a young woman are not destroyed by the associates in the workshop, she stands an excellent chance of being stripped of them in the house she has made her temporary home. The great majority of females in the warehouses have little or no certainty of permanent employment, and even with steady employment their wages would leave them but little after paying their board and washing. Both from personal observation, and from what I have been able to learn, I find that very few of these girls make fortunate marriages. I do not see how it could be otherwise; they are neither fitted for wives by a due regard for the feelings and wishes of their husbands, nor a knowledge of even the simplest rudiments of housekeeping. One of the worst traits in the character of this class of females is that they will not be instructed by their husbands, and as one proof of their obstinacy, one of their common remarks when speaking of husbands is that they "would like to see a man who would boss them." [91]

The crowding together of numbers of young people of both sexes in factories was a source of obvious dangers. In 1875 Ames in *Sex in Industry* warned of disregard paid the decencies of life in the location and condition of toilets, the laxity with which clothing is worn and positions are assumed in the process of manufacture, and the constant association of both sexes. Conditions, moreover, were unfavorable to the higher development that would have increased control. Mrs. Robinson spoke to about two hundred Lowell mill girls in 1881 and urged reading and study. They said: "We will try, but we work so hard, we tend so much machinery, and we are so tired."

The influence of poverty upon female morals is specific. The Avelings record the utterance of a Philadel-

[91] Burn. *Three Years among the Working Classes in the United States during the War*, 84-85.

phia employer of labor quoted in the *Record* of that city, who, on complaint of a girl that she could not live on her wages, advised her to get a gentleman friend to help her. The Chicago Vice Commission Report of 1911 calls

> Particular attention to the fact that the present economic and insanitary conditions under which the girls employed in factories and department stores live and work has an effect on the nervous forces of the girl in such a way as to render her much more susceptible to prostitution. . . [Moreover] there are many men who own large establishments, who pay wages which simply drive women into prostitution. Some of the girls who are most tempted, and enter lives of prostitution, work in big department stores, surrounded by luxuries, which all of them crave, and sell large quantities of those luxuries for a wage compensation of about seven or eight dollars a week, and even less.

In face of such temptation, the girl encounters the procuress, the "cadet," and the man directly over her. The Chicago report alleges that "married men are among the worst offenders against sales girls, and use all sorts of methods to induce them to accept invitations to dine, or go to the theater."

Later chapters elaborate on the influence exercised upon marriage and fecundity by woman's access to industry. Suffice it here to say that factory and shop conditions threaten to eliminate the truly feminine girl (as they have largely eliminated the truly manly man save where organization of labor has interposed some bulwark) and to produce a heavy, rough, coarse type comparable to the peasant women of Europe. Immigrant standards tend to undermine woman's vantage ground. It would seem that woman's normal call is into the world of business and professions rather than into the realm of industry and indeed the actual ten-

dency of American women of late has been into the office rather than into the mill. Professional and business life, too, has pronounced effects on the family institutions, some of which will be considered later.

Correlate with the opening of industrial careers for women went the opening of opportunities for higher education. Advanced education for women is practically a development of the post-bellum period. Vassar was founded in 1865. In 1870 the University of Michigan was opened to women. Even at Oberlin, however, as late as 1870 it was considered improper for a woman to address a mixed audience.[92] In 1867 at a medical meeting a man said: "A young lady that studies anatomy unsexes herself."[93] The extension to women of opportunities for genuine culture has been coeval with the entry of industrialism, political democracy, family dissolution, and social unrest. Some of the interrelations have already been suggested. It remains to show what connection, if any, subsists between female higher education and the decadence of the family.

The reader scarcely needs to be reminded of the countless alarmist articles and arguments put forth by those that see in the higher education of women a supreme menace to the future of the race. It has been maintained that the fruits of our educational system (which instead of providing women with a sound education for maternity and domesticity has offered them a training patterned on that of men) are physical, mental, and moral unfitness for wifehood and motherhood. Advocates of this view have asserted that the effect of the higher education is to beget a distaste for the nor-

[92] Reed. "Female Delicacy in the Sixties," 862.

[93] Bowditch. *Life and Correspondence of Henry Ingersoll Bowditch*, 214.

mal career of woman; to raise an incoherent rebellion against wifehood and motherhood; to develop such high notions and exacting demands that marriage with a young, healthy man of moderate means is distasteful, so that such men are driven to debauchery or to marriage with women of lower rank; to substitute worldly pleasure or an independent career as makeshifts for the realities of life. It is further alleged that the effect of sustained brain activity is to drain away energy that should go to maternity; that college education usually ruins a girl's body or her instincts; that many women are unsexed in the process; that college women desiring children are often incapable of safe and sound motherhood.

It is affirmed that physical unfitness among women of the cultivated classes menaces extinction to those groups; that race suicide is most common among the highly educated classes; that the more scholastic the education of women, the fewer are the children, the more formidable and dangerous the parturition, and the less the ability to nurse the babes. The suggestion is made, also, that coeducation breaks down the normal stimulus exercised by the opposite sex; that the girl's absence from home at a period when she needs a mother's influence and a share in household duties is not favorable to domesticity, particularly as she is likely to be bored by her home on her return to it; that segregated life during college years unfits her to understand children; that the inordinate pursuit of pleasure during the ten years between school and marriage (years when Alumna is presumably waiting for a lucky catch) works against later domestic happiness; and further that she seldom marries a man of her own intellectual attainments, and hence is perhaps subject to boredom and

ennui. Statistical evidence and multiple experience is put forward in support of the general unfitness of educated women to mother the race.[94]

Such sensational indictments as those indicated need not be elaborated in detail as they have sufficient sticking power of their own. It is more important to present fully what seems to be the more convincing case in behalf of the merits of college training for women. First of all, it is to be emphatically denied that college education is a dysgenesic influence.

College women are decidedly not averse to marriage They have a keen interest in engagements, weddings, and homemaking. If only half of the college women marry it is because they have come from a social class in which only half the women marry. The classes in which practically all women marry are the poor and the rich, the latter securing husbands by virtue of their pecuniary endowment if for no other reason. The upper middle class tends to female celibacy on economic grounds; college education did not create the tendency nor does it seem to heighten it. In fact college women are perhaps slightly more prone to marry than are others of their social class.

But they are more likely to marry wisely. Their training has given them a more judicial attitude, a more exacting taste, more appreciation of what is really good, and a reduced sensibility to artificial glamor. Education tends to develop common-sense and banish unreasonable expectations and vulgar extravagance,

[94] Compare e.g. Allen, "Plain Words on the Woman Question;" Mearkle, "Education and Marriage;" Hall, "Question of Coeducation," and *Youth*, chap. xi; Wells, "Some questions concerning the Higher Education of Women;" Low, *America at Home*, 76; "Alumna's Children;" Thwing, *History of Higher Education in America*, 352; Smith, A. L., "Higher Education of Women and Race Suicide;" Valentine, "American College Woman in the Home;" Armstrong, "Mission of Educated Women."

thus bringing the woman within reach of the right sort of man even tho he be relatively poor. There are indications, however, that college women marry better educated men than do their non-college sisters, and men with higher earning power. They need not take husbands for the sake of a home or because there is nothing else to do; hence they are in a position of vantage in the matter of negotiation. College training gives a woman seriousness, a sense of values, self-control, balance, breadth, and a philosophy of life. Her sense of maternal and connubial responsibility is quickened and strengthened and her reverence for the true meaning of the relationship is exalted. College women make cheery, efficient homes. They are apt to seek remedies for petty domestic annoyances rather than pine under them. The house over which the educated woman presides is more likely to be operated in accordance with system, economy, and hygiene. She is freer from blind tradition, from "instinctive" cookery and "intuitive" child-care. Standing on a higher level in relation to her husband she enters into an equality of comradeship that could not have been imagined in the old days and her marriage is less likely to prove unhappy than if she had failed of the higher culture: there is a very small percentage of divorce among college women. The college-bred wife and mother is in a position, too, to envisage home in its social relationships and is likely to be interested in public sanitation, education, and all other social questions that bear upon the well-being of the home.

Far from sapping vitality, college on the whole improves the physical condition of the girls that resort thither. They are a little stronger from their college training. In 1865 the Vassar prospectus stressed phy-

sical education as fundamental in view of the fact that American female education had not paid sufficient regard to the claims of the body and had produced slenderness and weakness in the educated class. Physical training and outdoor sports have been a godsend to women. Most girls know nothing of the proper care of their bodies until they enter upon physical culture in college or boarding-school. The girl that works for the team and goes through training has a new experience that makes for finer character, firmer muscles, better circulation, more even temper, and steadier nerves. Her situation is immensely better than that of her frivolous cousin who gravitates from social trivialities, by way of ennui, to the sanitarium. Thus college women have at least as good a chance to have a sufficient number of healthy children as have the non-college set in the same social group. It may be that this conclusion is coming to require qualification in view of the spread of college education among the more substantial classes of society, but even there the college woman has doubtless an even, if not a superior, chance at what all women crave.

College trained women have added to the maternal instinct a studied reverence for motherhood. They have a better basis for developing a sounder interest in childhood and a better understanding of its needs. They know more about the functions of their own bodies and esteem more highly the mysteries of life.[95]

[95] Compare e.g. "Birth-rate again"; Bolce, "Does the College rob the Cradle?;" Thwing, *History of Higher Education in America*, 351; Armstrong, "Mission of Educated Women;" Sewall, *Domestic and Social Effects of the Higher Education of Women*; Hill, "Economic Value of the Home," 410; "Birth-rate in New England"; Laurvik, "American Girl Out of Doors;" Valentine, "American College Woman in the Home;" Andrews, "Grant Allen on the Woman Question;" Barnes, "Science of Home Management;" Hoffer, "Young Women's Ideas of Marriage;" Chrisman, "Education for the Home."

Of course the foregoing generalizations apply with full force only to such institutions as give a thoroughly modern course under normal conditions; but on the whole it does not seem that the disparagers of higher education for women have made good their point save in so far as the higher education has been ill-adjusted or extreme. Dr. David Starr Jordan writes:

> There is not the slightest evidence that highly educated women are necessarily rendered sterile or celibate by their education. The best wives in the world belong to this class. They bring their husbands not only love and sympathy but the highest form of personal and professional helpfulness. . . The woman who finishes creditably the undergraduate course in a well regulated American college, coeducational or otherwise, has accomplished no *tour de force* and has performed no dangerous feat of mental gymnastics. . . The college girl, normal when her course of study began, is not on her graduation asthenic, anemic, neurotic, or indifferent to matters of love and maternity. . . To postpone marriage until the age of twenty-two, twenty-five, or even thirty is not fatal to love or maternity, or wisdom or anything else that is good. [Genuine education helps a woman to rear the children she bears; numerous offspring are not important.] We need not fear that college education on a large scale means progressive race sterility.

Jordan holds, moreover, that coeducation leads to marriage, whose best basis is common interest and intellectual friendship.[96]

It is evident, of course, that we are in a period of transition and subject to the limitations of such a period. Many unsettled problems persist to vex our generalizations. For instance it is clear that pending the solution of the problem of household economy and social care of children, women of original genius and intellectual ambition must in general choose between a career of

[96] Jordan. "Question of Coeducation:" in *Munsey's Magazine*, vol. xxxiv, 683-688.

scholarly achievement and the attainment of wifehood and motherhood, inasmuch as their tastes are not likely to run in the direction of captains of industry who could subsidize their leisure. Much marital friction has no doubt been due to the attempt of girls too highly intellectualized and devoid of training in home economics to preserve their mentality in the midst of the growing demands of modern housekeeping. The college woman with high standards perhaps marries a professional man in hope of intellectual comradeship and finds herself on a small income, thrust into an economic struggle for which she has had no adequate training. The allotment of time and energy for housework has to be worked out (if at all) with tremendous nervous strain. "She becomes the educated American drudge." This class, which in Mrs. Busbey's estimate includes "about two-thirds of the college women of the United States" constitutes "a curious companion piece to the 'toy, and beautiful tyrant; man her willing slave,' as the American woman is conceived abroad." Too many women have felt called upon to let intellect lapse when they entered upon the responsibilities of housework.

It can not be denied that higher education does tend to make a woman independent of marriage and put her in a position to weigh the advantage of trading "an eighty dollar position for a sixty dollar man." It increases her ability to do useful work—work more attractive than domestic drudgery—and thus to become self-supporting. It gives her warm and vital interests to supplement or replace the domestic career that was so long her only recourse. She can even find work that will enable her to vent her mother-love on children that very much need such devotion. Economic

equality renders woman impatient of the double standard of sex morals and its correlate contamination. On the other hand, by opening a career to women who are not fitted and do not care for marriage, the new equipment leaves the matrimonial field freer for the well-adapted domestic type.

It is of interest to observe the tenacity of the conservative argument against higher education for women. The old talk was that education would restrict marriage and motherhood, but later "because a few highly educated women have abandoned their specialties for their families, they are used as illustrations of the futility of opening graduate schools to women." [97]

In the early days a desire for higher education was a confession of relative poverty, and indeed of "strong-mindedness" and lack of "femininity." It was not the thing in well-to-do familes who conservatively cherished the traditional attitude toward women. They did not see that, "other things being equal, the liberally educated woman should be a more companionable wife, a more inspiring and helpful mother, and a more competent housekeeper than the non-educated or the narrowly educated woman." Some may still feel that the very approach to equality tends to weaken the family: each sex loses its conception of certain superiorities in the other; attraction consequently wanes; women become ambitious and men lose chivalry; "you spoil the men for husbands as soon as you have thoroughly converted them to the idea of sex equality." It is probable, indeed, that the main stronghold of the old order now lies in the conservatism of women rather than in the tenacity of men. A father or brother can bridge the chasm of a girl's iconoclasm more easily than can a

[97] Hill. "Economic Value of the Home," 410.

mother schooled in the customary mold of girlhood. An increasing number of husbands are similarly tractable.

It must not be forgotten that many of the facilities early opened to women were in coeducational institutions, where in some cases the girls lived in town, found their own accommodations, managed their own affairs, and lived as independently as the boys.[98] This sort of institution and life might be supposed to present special dangers. It was supposed by some in early days that coeducation would result in class-room romances but this fear proved exaggerated. As for the experience in independent living, it could not but be stimulating to a girl and conducive to those managerial qualities that are required in the head of a domestic establishment.

About forty-three years ago women were admitted to Cornell after much balancing of argument. The students were averse to the innovation but a donor had offered a building and endowment. Later the university published a circular *In Answer to Inquiries about the Facilities for the Education of Ladies at the Cornell University*. It held that "the difference between a college where ladies are not admitted and one to which they are admitted is the difference simply between the smoking car and the one back of it." As for danger of female "strong-mindedness," coeducation in universities makes the young men more manly and the young women more womanly.

> It is simply a matter of course that the desire to please, which is natural among women, should lead them, when educated in the same universities with young men, to develop those qualities which appear well in the eyes of those about them, and

[98] Brackett. *Women and the Higher Education*, 112-113.

this result is seen in every college and university where coeducation has been adopted.

It was hoped that women educated with men would care less for fashions set by disreputable women "in the most debauched capital in the world." Coeducation was relied upon to prevent the girls from making young men work too hard for female adornment, thus "thwarting their best aspirations and sacrificing their noblest ambitions." Moreover it was to cure women of their special faults of superstition and narrowness.

Inquirers as to danger of attachments springing up among students were informed that

> There is no difficulty arising from this source. Young women who are earnest enough to sacrifice ease and pleasure during what are considered the four most pleasant years of life are not easily led away from their purpose or thrown off their plans by the presence of young gentlemen.

Assurance was given that few marriages resulted from university acquaintance and "such as do occur turn out most happily"—tho how this could have been known at so early a date is somewhat of a question.

The president of a western university is cited to the effect that "there have been no scandals. At least no more than may exist between the members of a school limited to one sex and the outside world." The circular mentions as a special safeguard to lady students

> The fact that this is not a place to which flippant, careless girls would choose to come. Only those young ladies who are seventeen years of age and have passed an entrance examination . . . are admitted. This ensures the presence only of ladies really in earnest and devoted to study.

The "co-eds" were of all sorts, from the little group of clever and cultivated girls to the young woman from "back of Oshkosh" who had never seen a bathtub. Mostly the girls worked hard but there is some signifi-

cance in the device of the profit-seeking steward who, over men's protests, alternated the sexes at table because "they eat so much less this way." [99]

Certainly coeducation has offered unusually favorable opportunities for the mutual acquaintance of young men and women and "many happy homes have been founded in the belief that long and quiet acquaintance in intellectual work, and intimate interests of the same deeper sort, form as solid a basis for a successful marriage as ball room intercourse or a summer at Bar Harbor." A college man that has known college women is not, as a rule, drawn to those of lower ideals and inferior training. A college woman does not drift into the arms of an inferior man.

Nor is coeducation without its specific benefits to young men. It must have been especially wholesome in the early days when more was said than now about masculine superiority. Young men came to see that woman, far from being inferior, was, in some respects, their superior. This lesson fitted in well with the conditions of the times. It would engender a more wholesome relation between the sexes than had previously subsisted. Moreover coeducation toned up masculine conduct. A prominent literary man ventured the remark some years ago, that "young men were called gentlemen first at Antioch." Thus as regards a better basis for family relations, coeducation seems to stand approved.

The basic changes in the field of industry and education that have occurred since the Civil War have remade womanhood. In 1865 Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies* was published and was widely read in America. It fitted the trend of affairs and did much to combat the

[99] "When the old Order Greets the new:" in *Scribner's*, vol. lix, 382-384.

notion that it was ladylike to be ignorant and useless. The masculine admiration of long skirts and slim waists seems also to have begun to decline. Husbands began to complain of their wives' sickliness and to protest against the results of tight lacing.[100] Perhaps unwittingly they were loosing the fetters of subjection.

Perhaps as a reflection of educational development have come certain marked changes in the realm of literature. O. B. Bunce in the *Critic* of 1889 directs attention to a

> Noteworthy change in the spirit of our literature [viz.] the almost entire disappearance of the distinctively woman's novel. . . The domestic semi-pious character of these books, which to men seemed trivial and empty, were the intense delight of the feminine mind thirty or forty years ago. Nothing of this kind has come from the press within recent years. Women still constitute the majority of novel readers but this special catering to their domestic tastes has ceased. . . And then look at the remarkable change of base on the part of the magazine conductors. Forty years ago the leading magazine was *Godey's Lady's Book*. This periodical was filled with fashion pictures, and stories supposed to be adapted by virtue of their domestic imbecility to the taste of the women of the period. The *Ladies' National Magazine* was similar in character. . . When *Harper's Monthly* came upon the field, it addressed itself to all classes of readers, but in its short stories it had an eye to the supposed taste of women readers, and it was thought necessary to further gratify this class by a fashion department at the end. Today our magazines if anything make their selections more noticeably for men than for women. *The Century* has made war papers its principal feature. Russian travel takes a large place; and all other papers are addressed to cultivated tastes without regard to sex. The same is true of *Scribner's*. . . The short stories in these magazines are no doubt more generally read by women than by men, but they are not selected with this fact in view, but solely as to certain literary qualities that know no sex. In *Har-*

[100] Reed. "Female Delicacy in the Sixties," 863.

per's there still lingers, perhaps, a little of the old tradition in its short stories, in which a domestic flavor is preferred.

Even in distinctly woman's periodicals of today (such as the *Woman's Home Companion*, which dates from 1873, and the *Ladies' Home Journal*, from 1883) there is a marked catering to male readers. The train magazine vendor finds a good sale for the *Ladies' Home Journal* to the male passengers. Men of all sorts like and read it, especially men isolated from "home folks."[101] Obviously identity of education tends to make the matured tastes of men and women approach each other.

The opening of industry and education to woman constitutes a phase, partly cause, partly result, of the larger "Woman Movement" whose beginnings we recorded in the period before the war. The pioneer phenomena fundamental to that movement persisted in the West during the post-bellum generation and indeed down to the present to some degree.

During the war period the governor of Washington sent two representatives to Boston to arrange with Governor Andrew for the export of six hundred women and girls to the territory for domestic work. A steamer chartered by the territory was to convey them to big pay and certainty of husbands. "Men would do anything to get them. They were objects of a sort of crude, fierce worship. They profited by it of course and sold the conquest high."[102] The eastern women that came to the West were likely to surpass the pioneer males in breeding and training; they symbolized order, morality, cleanliness, and other virtues.

Everywhere west of the Mississippi there was, in the

[101] Compare the *Ladies' Home Journal*, November, 1913, 1.

[102] De Hauranne. *Huit Mois en Amérique*, vol. i, 432, *footnote* 1.

post-bellum years, a brisk demand for women. Dixon pointed out in his *New America* that in California there were three men to every woman, in Washington four, in Nevada eight, in Colorado twenty. Europe was "sending in hosts of bachelors to fight for the few women, who would otherwise be insufficient for the native men. . . One man in every twenty males born in the United States can never expect to have a wife of his own." This preponderance of demand, he said, affected the female mind with a variety of plagues—from missions to free love theories.[103] Colonel McClure, who made in 1867 a tour through the Rockies, wrote

> One hundred ordinarily good female servants could now find permanent employment in pleasant homes in Denver, at an average of twelve dollars per week and boarding; and three months wages would pay their fare from the East to this city. Besides the high wages they can get they are in equal demand in the matrimonial market. The adult unmarried population of the territory is probably ten males to one female; and here, as elsewhere, people continue to be given in marriage. The importation of several hundred virtuous, industrious, single females into Colorado would be a great benefaction both to the females themselves and to the people of the territory.[104]

In Dixon's *White Conquest*, in connection with a tabulation of disparity in numbers of the sexes in the far West, comes the declaration that

> Under social arrangements so abnormal, a white woman is treated everywhere on the Pacific slopes, not as man's equal and companion . . . but as a strange and costly creature . . . freed from the restraints and penalties of ordinary law. As with the trappers and traders of Monterey, so with the miners and settlers around San Francisco. There

[103] Compare Dixon, *New America*, third edition (Phila., 1869), 263-268, 274.

[104] McClure. *Three Thousand Miles through the Rocky Mountains*, 105-106.

> is a brisk demand for wives; a call beyond the markets to supply. A glut of men is everywhere felt, and the domestic relation is everywhere disturbed. Marriage is a career; marriage, divorce, remarriage, times without end, and changes without shame. . . "Guess my husband's got to look after me, and make himself agreeable to me, if he can," says a pretty young woman, in a tone of banter, but a tone that carries much meaning; "if he don't, there's plenty will." . . Divorce is cheap and easily obtained. . . The application mostly comes from the woman's side, and any allegation is enough to satisfy her judge. A husband going into court is generally regarded as a fool. [Thus disproportion of sexes stimulates men to illicit advances and makes woman insurgent.]

It contributed also to debauchery of Indian women and to "the irruption of an Asiatic horde of female slaves."[105]

It is easy to see that woman's status would be very different in the East and West tho the latter could not but evangelize the former by osmosis. The West created the recurrent hero of American story and play, the rough, uncouth, wild desperado who soars to the heights of honor in matters touching a woman. Even to the end of the nineteenth century, California was "essentially a man's state," yet it is precisely in such commonwealths that woman rises to sovereignty. Today woman is not exactly rare in America but the tradition endures and the deep-rooted effects of her scarcity value are ineradicable. The opening of industrial opportunity in the East afforded a similar leverage in that section.

The fact, also, that the dearth of men owing to deaths in the war left many women husbandless, while westward migration following the war carried many men, as of old, to settlements where early marriage was impossible, so that thousands of women were excluded

[105] Dixon. *White Conquest*, vol. i, 165-167; vol. ii, 301-308.

from wifehood and motherhood, interacted with the opening of industry and higher education to women so as to create in women a feeling of independence and self-reliance very favorable to the propaganda of the "Women's Rights" advocates, whose evangelism before the war had had relatively slight results. The legislation of the ante-bellum generation had, indeed, thrown the laws of marriage into inconsistency. It remained for the new generation to undertake the liberalization of their entirety and also to procure an approach to political and social freedom of a larger sort.

At the end of the war, the virtual chatteldom of woman in the eyes of the law was still a vexation to forward-looking people. In 1868 the *Nation* notes that the women's rights advocates charge decrease in marriage to the inequitable constitution of the marriage relation and to the wife's treatment by the husband as pet or as unpaid servant. It was alleged that as women became more self-assertive men waxed wary of matrimony. Man, it was said, could not be expected to tie himself up for life unless he could have supreme authority.[106] Some of the suffrage leaders avowed that marriage had not even the sanctions that belonged to an ordinary partnership; that every woman had a right to select the father of her child; that true marriage was a matter of the inner life beyond the cognizance of church or state; and that permanence of the tie was not essential. As early as 1870, Mrs. Cady Stanton declared for unlimited freedom of divorce. One writer suggested "that marriage might, with great advantage, be contracted for limited periods, say two or three years, leaving the renewal to depend on the pleasure of the parties."[107]

[106] Compare the *Nation*, vol. vi, 190-191.

[107] "Feud in the Woman's Rights Camp:" in the *Nation*, vol. xi, 346-347.

Some identified the woman's movement with the spirit of revolt against the home. Suffrage was assailed as subversive of the family and of society. Not all advanced women were as liberal as Mrs. Stanton. *The Woman's Journal* denounced her and showed that "free divorce means free love, and free love means 'free lust'."[108]

Woman's legal status had not yet altered in keeping with her changed economic and social position. True, a woman had some recourse at law against her husband's extravagance and non-support, and divorce was easier than in England. But the common law still retained the old cruel notion of the wife's absorption in the husband, an injustice not entirely eliminated today even by the liberalizing trend of the intervening years.

In 1879 an Ohio judge rendered the following decision:

> Our courts adjudicate primarily upon property interests. A husband has a pecuniary, a property interest in his wife. The law protects this right of property. A father can recover damages against a man who seduces his daughter, but a mother cannot. . . Why? . . . She has not property in her, is not entitled to her wages; neither is a mother bound to support her children. The father is the head of the family, not the mother. He, by virtue of his headship, is legally entitled to the services of his family. The husband is head of the wife; not the wife of the husband. . . Can a husband sue his wife if she refuses to support him out of her property, to give him her earnings, or keep her marriage contract? Not at all. Can a father sue his minor child that refuses him obedience and service? Not at all. And why. . .? For the same reason that he can not sue his flocks or his herds, his oxen and and his cattle they are his. His to command. . . He can sue any one who takes them away, keeps or harbors them; any one who injures them; because they are his own. But the wife does not own her husband; the child does not own the

[108] "Feud in the Woman's Rights Camp," in the *Nation*, vol. xi, 346-347.

> father, and therefore I hold that the child can not sue for an injury to the father, nor the wife for an injury to the husband. There is in her no property right upon which to found the action. . . The wife looks to the husband. She relies upon his pledge and his promise, which the law will enforce, and she looks to that alone. The law does not permit her to go forth to smite the seducer of her husband, nor the man or woman who entices him away.[109]

During the Beecher trial the Honorable William M. Evarts defined woman's legal position as one of subordination, declaring "that notwithstanding changing customs and the amenities of modern life, women were not free, but were held in the hollow of man's hand, to be crushed at his will." In confirmation he referred to a decision of the New York Court of Appeals and he gave his own sanction to the principle.[110] In 1891, B. O. Flower pointed out that "with laws as they are today in many states, wives are made the unwilling mothers of thousands of children who are conceived in bitterness of soul, born into an atmosphere of hate, reared in homes where all that fosters and enriches the soul life is absent."[111]

Matilda Gage wrote in 1893 to the effect that a great many men, if their wives protested because they drank, gambled, and spent their nights away, said: "You have a good home and enough to eat and wear; what more do you want?" She asserted

> Instances of wife sale are not uncommon in the United States, and although the price is usually higher than that given for English wives, reaching from three hundred to four thousand dollars still as low a sum as five cents has been recorded. A prosperous resident of Black Hills, Dakota, is said to have begun his business start in life through sale of his wife.

[109] Gage. *Woman, Church, and State*, 322-324.

[110] — *Ibid.*, 394.

[111] Flower. "Hon. Carroll D. Wright on Divorce," 144.

She illustrates her indictment by citation of an item from the Leavenworth, Kansas, *Standard* of 1886:

> A woman who ran away from her husband at Lawrence some time ago, was found at Fort Leavenworth yesterday by a Lawrence detective and taken back to her home. The officer received a reward of fifty dollars for her capture.[112]

Even in the year 1892

> We find the largest proportion of the United States still giving to the husband custody of the wife's person; the exclusive control of the children of the marriage; of the wife's personal and real estate; the absolute right to her labor and all products of her industry. In no state does the law recognize the legal existence of the wife, unless she relinquishes her own name upon marriage, taking that of her husband, thus sinking her identity in his. . . That woman is an individual with the right to her own separate existence, has not yet permeated the thought of church, state, or society.[113]

It was not till 1882 that the New York Court of Appeals decided married women to be the rightful owners of articles of personal adornment and convenience coming from their husbands. The same year the Supreme Court of the state decided that a wife may sue her husband for damages for assault and battery. In 1891 in Indiana it was decided that a wife may sue for alienation of her husband's affections. Kansas early recognized the right of a married mother to her own child, "that provision having been incorporated in its constitution at early date as an enticement for bringing women emigrants into that state."[114] Until the decade preceding 1898 the common law period of ten or twelve years was the basis of "age of consent" legislation in most states.[115]

[112] Gage. *Woman, Church, and State*, 327, 342, 391.

[113] — *Ibid.*, 329.

[114] — *Ibid.*, 324, 327, 391.

[115] Hecker, *Short History of Women's Rights*, 168.

At the beginning of the new century wives might own and control their separate property in three-fourths of the states; in every state a married woman might dispose by will of her separate property; in about two-thirds of the states she possessed her earnings; in the great majority she might make contracts and bring suit. In many states the law provided that if the wife engaged in business by herself or went outside the home to work, her earnings were her own, but all the fruits of her labor within the household still belonged to the husband. Fathers and mothers had equal guardianship of children in nine states and in the District of Columbia.[116]

At least as late as 1912 in as liberal a state as Ohio, wife-desertion was not a crime; the father inherited property of deceased children – the mother, only if the father were dead; the wife had no share in the children's earnings if the husband was alive; she was not co-guardian of the children and the husband controlled choice of church, school, clothing, medicine, and work.[117] Not long since in California, a married woman who for years had supported herself and an idle husband was denied by the courts the right to hold and manage her holdings since these were community property and thus under control of her husband.[118] Mrs. Parsons in 1913 reminded her readers that

> In most of the United States a married woman is not permitted to enter into a business partnership exclusive of her husband's interests, and in general the courts do not favor a woman acquiring earnings for her separate use without her husband's consent. . . In our common law a mother is not entitled, like a

[116] Stanton and others. *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. iv, 455-458.

[117] "Laws that Concern Women:" in Wisconsin *State Journal*, Aug. 10, 1912.

[118] Goodsell. *Family as a Social and Educational Institution*, 434.

> father, to the services and earnings of minors, and in some states a father can still will away the guardianship of his child from its mother. In all the states a father has the paramount right of custody.[119]

A woman loses her citizenship by marriage with an alien.

Some of the legal rights that have been won for women have admitted of abuse. Thus in 1867 Dr. Jeffries complained that "in some of the eastern states, greater privileges in regard to holding property are granted the married woman, to enable the husband to set aside in her name what really belongs to his creditors"[120]—a misdeed not unknown in later times. Such fraud will of course become impossible when people get used to the entire separation of the individual property of husband and wife. The incidental abuses of the transition should not retard the liberalization of law.

In the matter of "age of consent," woman in industry, and in other spheres there is even today room for vast improvement in legislation.[121] But

> Woman's body is increasingly looked upon as her personal property. With the raising of the age of consent, with increasing severity in laws punishing rape, with the abrogation of judicial order for the restitution of marital rights, it is now pretty generally recognized that a woman should have the right to control her own person.[122]

Among the lower classes, old usages are slower to break than in the more intellectualized circles. Betts refers, for instance, to the fact of sisters working in order to support brothers in idleness and declares it to be "a common thing to find mothers who insist on

[119] Parsons. *Old Fashioned Woman*, 211-212.

[120] Preface to Carlier, *Marriage in the United States.*

[121] See Hecker, *Short History of Woman's Rights, passim.*

[122] Barnes. "Economic Independence of Women," 262.

controlling the wages of daughters who make no exaction in regard to the wages of sons. The effect is to lessen the self-respect of the girls and the sense of personal responsibility of the boys." There is a psychological principle that tends to make the man that is under tyranny in industry and society vent his self-assertiveness upon those that are perhaps weaker than himself – his wife and children. As labor makes headway toward emancipation, this tendency may be expected to diminish. Already in enlightened labor circles woman suffrage is welcomed and the Socialist movement, of course, lays great stress on suffrage and on entire social equality of the sexes.

It is scarcely necessary to detail here the progress of suffrage – the feminine revolution against man-made laws. In general the movement has proceeded from two sources: the liberalism of the far West, and the admission that women are entitled to a voice in the education of their children or in the taxation of their property. The school issue is well illustrated by a "current note" in the *American Historical Record* of 1874 to the effect that women have been chosen on school committees in Boston but the board, in defiance of a decision of the state Supreme Court refuses to admit them. The following comment is appended to the item:

> It seems to be the most stupid of all stupid things, to exclude women from participation in the legislation and labors for the education of the young. They are natural educators. That is truly a part of their "sphere," about which so much has been said, for they understand, better than men, what is most needed in an educational system.

In 1879 Massachusetts women were given school suffrage. Women have served on school committees in that state since 1874.

Some are always inclined to burlesque a new move-

ment. Thus an English traveller who was in America in 1875 wrote:

> Laramie has the good or bad fortune to be the first place where a female jury was ever empanelled. . . While the jurywomen were considering their verdict . . . the husbands of those in the jury-box who had "responsibilities" at home, besought the future citizen of this great country to be calm, not to swallow his fist . . . using the following words of a then popular song:
>
> Nice little baby, don't get in a fury,
> 'Cause mamma's gone to sit on the jury.[123]

Still another expression of woman's emergence is seen in the Woman's Club movement (e.g. the founding of the New England Woman's Club and the New York Sorosis in 1868). The earliest form of the woman's club was the study club and was a rather exclusive affair.

> It was unusual to find in those earlier clubs women who did not meet often at other social gatherings, or at church, or at each others' homes. . . The first programs savored strongly of the artistic and literary themes and but little of the scientific and philanthropic.

The two clubs mentioned above, while not exactly the first in existence, are entitled to be called the pioneers. The orgin of the Sorosis was in the discourteous treatment shown to women by the Press Club of New York on the occasion of the Dickens dinner. Mrs. J. C. Croly conceived the idea of a club of women "that should . . . represent as far as possible the active interests of women, and create a bond of fellowship between them which many women, as well as men, thought at that time it would be impossible to establish." In 1910 delegates to the General Federation of Women's Clubs represented a membership "direct, indirect, and allied" of nearly one million women. The

[123] Minturn. *Travels West*, 99-100.

election of Mrs. Decker to the presidency in 1904 marked "the entrance of this great body of workers into the field of social service. . . From that time forth the exclusive, literary club must yield to the inclusive far-reaching club, the keynote of whose existence should be service to the world." [124]

The Grange was another factor in the elevation of woman. She was an essential factor in its social arrangements and it offered to her an opportunity for broader service and the development of social graces. Buck in the *Granger Movement* noted: "That the example and teaching of the Grange was an influence in causing many farmers to look upon their wives more as companions and less as household drudges is also quite possible." [125]

Feminism as an issue of the generation may be concisely illustrated by two sharply opposing viewpoints of prominent women. Gertrude Atherton writing in 1911 on *American Husbands* says:

> There is no doubt in my mind that Nature created woman primarily and only to reproduce the race, and to take care of the big child she annexed, and the little children that generally (in the good old times) arrived by express.

At the National Unitarian Conference of 1895, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer championed pointedly the broader view. She declared that the heart of the movement toward equality of rights and opportunities for both sexes

> Is the freeing of the mothers of the race from conditions which destroy the home and thus blight the life of childhood – conditions of cruelty, neglect, and outrage upon personal dignity through enforced bondage to unholy passions. These conditions arise from false ideals of womanliness, which, by induc-

[124] Wood. "Woman's Club Movement."

[125] Buck. *Granger Movement*, 279-281.

ing woman's subordination and dependence, inevitably tend to vulgarize marriage into a commercial bargain, and thus make short and easy the step to illegal sex relations. The pit of woman's supremest degradation is dug by white hands of those who themselves escaping the worst effect of these false ideals, yet support their decaying strength, and crucify the prophecy of a higher domestic order "not knowing what they do." It is the pit of woman's degradation from which emanate the worst evils that helpless childhood suffers, and that society vainly seeks to cure. . . [The problems of caring for dependent children and wayward youth are] (together with the effectual treatment of divorce and prostitution) vitally and indissolubly linked with that greatest institutional reform of the century just closing – the liberation from bondage of the moral and intellectual initiative of women.

VI. WOMAN IN THE MODERN AMERICAN FAMILY

The great movements sketched in the preceding chapter have their importance for our purpose in their effect on the family and the home. Something of the real standing and function of woman in modern American family life has appeared in connection with the various movements of her release, but more remains to be said concerning her peculiar characteristics and activities.

The problem of finding a husband was as dominant, almost, after the war as before. Burn, a war-time sojourner, said:

> It is quite a common thing for unmarried females to have recourse to very dangerous expedients in order to procure and retain the affections of young men. A great variety of charms are used, and the "fellows" without being aware of the fact, are continually under the influence of opposing love spells. Administering a certain drug to young men, although decidedly dangerous to life, is by no means an uncommon occurrence among the husband-hunting virgins of the United States. I have heard of more than one young man who has had his moral perception blistered out of him.[126]

This writer's contract was primarily with the working-class. De Hauranne, however, who spent eight months in America during 1864-1865, said:

> The men are pressed with the pursuit of fortune . . . the women with the pursuit of a husband – serious affair in a country where they sovereignly dispose of themselves. This is the constant occupation and the final goal of their young years.

[126] Burn. *Three Years among the Working Classes in the United States during the War*, 100.

Dr. Horace Bushnell recognized the difficulty of woman's position to the extent of suggesting that she should have more freedom to make advances and that a sort of matrimonial exchange might be formed, apparently in connection with the church.[127] Kenney in 1893 thought he saw a tendency "toward a still greater influence of women, even perhaps permitting to them an initiative in marriage." Of course the American girl of the last generation has been largely free from that morbid necessity for marriage so striking in foreign lands.

The general attitude of respect toward women noted by foreign observers before the war has endured and deepened in the decades since and has allotted to women a larger freedom and personality than was hers in the older civilization. The foreigner sees in America a woman's world where the female personality is magnified irrespective of marriage; where woman plays a greater role than in any of the older nations; where initiative, boldness, and independent thinking on the part of woman is coming to please her men-folks and to gain for her influence and standing. American respect and deference to woman seems to some almost worship. We can say confidently of the American woman of the later nineteenth and the twentieth century that by virtue of increasing intellectual superiority and by reason of enhanced efficiency she is coming into her own. Emancipation makes woman more sensible, more considerate, more womanly; it heightens the intrinsic contrast between the sexes, and makes woman a more valuable counsellor.

The conservatism of statute was scarcely typical of woman's actual status in the generations since the war.

[127] "Doctor Bushnell on Women's Rights:" in the *Nation*, vol. viii, 496-497.

Day wrote in 1880: "Married ladies have equal or even greater license than the unmarried. They do as they like, and go where they like, having no fear of their husbands before their eyes." Dugard wrote in the early nineties:

> When married, woman loses none of her independence, for the American is persuaded that one of the surest foundations of domestic happiness and of an affectionate coöperation is mutual respect for personality, and the absence, or at least the constant repression of every wish to invade or to penetrate the intimacy of the self. . . She keeps her friends, her personal life. Legally she is free; released from all the incapacities with which the married woman is ordinarily burdened. . . After, as before, marriage, she remains, like the man, an independent being. [Some girls abuse their independence by flirting.] After marriage, some of them keep their need of the world and its excitements, an egoistic individuality, a life separate from that of their husbands. [Careers of all sorts are open to women – the outcome of a struggle in which the eastern men, especially, held to European opinions as to trades for women.]

According to a writer in the Paris *Gaulois* in 1912 the American man rules in the business world, but his wife rules everywhere else.

> American society is absolutely divided into two distinct portions. On one side stand the men, eager democrats, genial merchants, who spend their time in making money. On the other side are the women, not democratic, but petted children of aristocracy, who amuse themselves in spending the fortunes of the men.[128]

The American home and American Society tend to be feminocentric. In 1894 Price Collier remarked that in England

> The establishment is carried on with a prime view to the comfort of the man. In America . . . of the woman. An

[128] "As Paris Sees the American Woman:" in the *Literary Digest*, vol. xlv, 216.

> Englishman is more at home in his own house than is an American. He leaves it later in the morning, returns to it earlier in the evening, and gives more of himself to it than does the American. An Englishman is continually going home; an American is continually going to business. [In England *the husband* is supposed to advertise the family prosperity.]

The American husband pushes the baby-carriage and builds the kitchen fire, perhaps, and in the less well-to-do families the pay envelope goes to the wife. The man does not want special dishes served up at table for his sole enjoyment. He is a means, not an end, as will become apparent with the study of the passing of the patriarchate. While not cowed, he serves according to his conception of relative strength.

The revolution in woman's world has not, however, eliminated pernicious parasitism. Henry Morford in 1868 declared that too many American women have been becoming

> More and more for years, costly dolls . . . inefficient because avowedly irresponsible helpmates, claimants of more devotion and protection than have ever previously been bestowed upon the wives, sisters, and sweethearts of any nation. [At the same time they have been laying increasing claim to the qualities usually supposed to be found chiefly in men. While the uncertainty remains as to which sphere the women intend to elect it is perhaps natural that] the chivalric should be temporarily replaced by the calculating and defensive.[129]

Sir L. H. Griffin in 1884 was of the opinion that "men, unambitious in their social aspirations, would prefer a wife from a New England farmhouse to a New York beauty who had been ostentatiously protected through a whole season by a Fifth Avenue exquisite."

Many parasitic wives still ruin men by their senseless demands. Reared without sense of values, enter-

[129] Morford. "Womanhood and Chivalry in America."

ing upon marriage in the butterfly spirit, humored by their husbands and allowed to remain ignorant of men's burdens, they pursue reckless expenditure, with divorce perhaps as the goal, or smiting catastrophe that sweeps away overdone luxury. Or it may be that the incessant pressure of anxiety about money makes the wife grow weary and fancy herself disillusioned, while the husband becomes irritable, morose, and hard to live with. The conventional proprieties lead many men to forego leisure and self-development in order to minister to the relative idleness of healthy women. While some men make confidantes of their wives, many husbands would resent a wife's interest in their urgent affairs. Men like to have it known that they can support a wife; hence they incline to object to her having remunerative work outside the home, so that she has no recourse but to take up distasteful housework ("which always, with or without fitness, a man will permit a woman to do!") or to spend her time in idleness, becoming perhaps a card fiend, or a culture fiend, or a social service dilettante, while her husband turns into a mere uncompanionable drudge. H. T. Peck complained that the ordinary woman "from her cradle to her grave, is always half-protected even against herself. In her father's house and in her husband's home, she is shielded on every side from temptation and even from the knowledge of it." Very recently a woman who complained that her *Ladies' Home Journal* came mutilated found that her husband was cutting out things he did not wish her to see.

On the other hand the whole mechanism of the average home is entirely inadequate and antiquated and imposes on the housekeeping wife a hopeless strain. In America, marriage can not enlarge a woman's free-

dom; in practice it ordinarily burdens her with housekeeping and exposes her to the risk of deterioration. Rivington and Harris's *Reminiscences in America in 1869* are to the effect that when a girl marries she "retires very much from general society." De Hauranne who was in America in the mid sixties remarked that you met only gay maidens; "the rest of the female world seems prematurely buried in the tomb of domestic life." So it has continued to be. "We charge her battery with every stimulating influence during youth and then expect her to discharge the swelling current in the same peaceful circuit which contented her great-grandmother." A family will pinch and save for the daughter's good time. "After marriage, the difficulty of maintaining a high standard of life without adequate servants will weigh upon her as long as she lives." The ultra-idealism of college days is not always the most comfortable preparation for the humdrum of a poor man's home. The college woman may be able to do all of her housework, including the laundry, and also help her children in their music or in their Latin and Greek, but the pressure is unreasonable, especially if she has had experience of earning her own way and now finds that she is not even custodian of the family purse but receives nothing but her keep.

Working men's wives have also been under extreme pressure. A writer of 1880 extols their economy and emphasizes their usual willingness to accept any kind of work, however disagreeable or poorly paid.

> The men often yield completely to discouragement, and become listless and stupid, and are sour and cross at home, until . . . they take to the road and become tramps. . . In the cities and larger towns some workingmen's wives take to drink . . . when their conditions and prospects have

become desperate, but among working women who do not drink, I have never yet seen one relinquish effort and yield to despair.[130]

Even today the wives of poverty could give many a lesson in economy and character to women of the upper world that aspire to elevate them.

In respect to domesticity American women have not presented uniformity of type. One writer of 1870, for instance, said that "the young ladies of the upper and middle classes are usually trained to domestic duties, so that they are well prepared to perform them, when they enter on domestic and married life. If a servant is required, the young married lady knows right well how to direct her." Another writer of the same period said that with a large proportion of city girls, the idea of marriage was a matter of mere romance. "At home the gay plumage is laid aside and it is much if she does not greet her husband in soiled and disordered apparel."

American women as a class are not the best managers and more of them neglect home for a "mission" than in other lands. The American wife is not always equal to the economic situation that confronts. She was perhaps spared by her mother and spent her time at school and in pleasure without learning the rudiments of housekeeping. Madame Bentzon's *Condition of Woman in the United States* gives interesting impressions on this general question. She did not find in American women "that cunningly disguised industry" by means of which the Parisian woman is able to make a good showing at moderate cost. The American woman is reluctant, also, Bentzon thought, to stoop to menial duties. Tho she be operative or arti-

[130] *Certain dangerous Tendencies in American Life, and other Papers*, 106-108.

zan she will deny that it is her mission to become a husband's servant-maid; she thinks it quite as much the man's place to mind the baby or go to market as it is hers. American women once glorified in domesticity, said this observer, but with riches came wants and leisure; there had to be "help"—at first equals, treated as members of the family. Then the wave of Irish migration wrought a change. The help of former days are in business or trade or profession and women who once would have been confined to the household can have a career. But bad as servants are it is very hard to find or keep them; there is no bond in either direction. Bentzon concluded that the problem of domestic life in America could be solved only by abundance of money.

Mrs. Busbey remarks that the ideal of love in a cottage is translated into actuality in a small, dark flat with a kitchenette, which offers small incentive to domestic zeal. The wife scurries through her work, puts her babe into a carriage, and makes for the shops to spend what her husband gives her. She does not keep accounts; often she can't sew. Doctor Nystrom in his *Economics of Retailing* says that

> A generation ago women's time was so completely taken up with the household industries in the home, many of which are now performed in factories, that they had very little time to spend in shopping. Then men did practically all of the buying for their families. Now this practice is quite reversed. . . It has been estimated by a number of people that, at the present time, at least seventy-five per cent, possibly more, of the goods used in the home are purchased by women. . . Women are harder to sell to than men because as a rule they have, or think they have, more time to shop than men do.

Mrs. Rogers in *Why American Marriages Fail* remarks that American women, poorly-off, waste their

time shopping; the longer time they take, the less they buy; the like of it is unknown in other countries.

The preservation of mental and spiritual equality between husband and wife presents a frequent problem. Marriage is seldom a comradeship of equal minds; woman mothers, man pets. Not rarely the wife of a man's youth is left behind in ignorance and crudeness while her husband soars to heights of financial and social success. A woman that has to be "on the job" sixteen hours a day at promiscuous industry is too tired to be interested in men's affairs or to be herself interesting; she experiences mental deterioration; often she proves unable to compete with the leisure parasitic class that specializes on pleasing men. But in respect to intellectual and social finish it is perhaps oftener the man who lags for lack of time to polish himself. Woman is the cultivated sex; for her the writer writes; for her the arts are carried on. As the man grows older he concentrates on business or politics while his wife is growing intellectually; "the wife reads books while the husband reads newspapers." Münsterberg goes so far as to say

> In the average American home the woman makes the profounder intellectual impression on every visitor, and the number of women is continually growing who instinctively feel that there is no advantage in marrying a man who is intellectually an inferior; they would rather remain single than contract a marriage in which they have to be the intellectual head.

But tho woman still has a desire to be able to look up to her husband and "likes color and authority in man" she aspires increasingly to recognition for her own intelligence and energy and increasingly her husband rejoices in her brilliance and intellectual ambition. The pursuit of the higher interests enables the wife to re-

tain youthfulness of spirit and freshness of charm till late in life. The wife's social standing, gifts, and functions still constitute a man's asset or liability as the case may be, and unfortunately, in loyalty to her husband's business interests she has to exert her blandishments upon men and women personally objectionable.

The precise effect of the recognition of sex equality is hard to define in a manner acceptable to all. De Hauranne said in the sixties that "American independence develops in the women many useful faculties, but it injures their prestige a little." Bourget was impressed with the "general want of association in family life," and a sort of "soul celibacy, if we may use the term, which the American woman keeps all through her married life." Hagar has declared that the idea of sex equality

> Has tended very much to weaken the family. It has impaired the ideal of superiorities in the opposite sex that has mutually attracted each. . . It has tended to create in women ambitions and modes of life and thought hostile to a contented and successful wifehood, and to destroy in men chivalry, benevolence and kindness towards women. . . You spoil the men for husbands, as soon as you have thoroughly converted them to the idea of sex equality.

But after all, the old chivalry was in essence but contemptuous condescension to an inferior being devoid of independent personality, whereas the very independence and equality of the mated pair makes possible intelligent and intrinsic comradeship. When the typical home comes to be built by two persons whose education has been side by side, whose industrial careers are side by side, and whose outlook on life is marked by kindred and parallel interests, as is certain to be increasingly the case under modern conditions of life, the no-

tion of impassable gulfs in qualifications and abilities as between the sexes in the world of mind and of work will be forgotten. Given an occupational interest of her own and freed from the old personal dependency woman will escape the old petty tendency to view with eyes of jealousy the most indifferent acts of the men to whom they have given themselves.

It may be that the better basis of sex relationship that is developing in America is due in part to a reduction of sexuality. Bourget in the early nineties believed that American young men were of diminished passionateness: the strain of developmental activities had checked the sensuous life, and woman's charms had fallen to second place. Thus there was not the sensuous jealousy of the Orient, nor the correlate tyranny of man.

> It seems as if the type of manhood, while taking on a finer nervous organization, had lost something of its primitive weight, and, on the other hand, that the type of womanhood, vigorous, energetic, and impulsive, had taken on a more resolute charm, firmer, less voluptuous, and delicately masculine.

Mrs. Busbey in 1910 declared that the American woman

> Marries for love . . . and yet the overwhelming romantic love is not the common currency of America, as is popularly supposed. The American woman, I think, could be more correctly stated as marrying the man she likes, and, in case of opposition, being surprisingly obstinate in her likes. . . Some cause, possibly climate, has certainly reduced the intensity of sex-emotion though this suggestion is of course incapable of proof.

The matter-of-factness of American sex and family relations has long been noted. Audouard, writing of 1869-1870, observed that

> The young American girl is not romantic or sentimental; she is matter-of-fact; she knows that the goal of life is marriage,

> family. She seeks her husband with much sense; she studies his character and morals; she does not expect to find in him a demi-god, a perfect being, a gallant knight or a slave always submissive and loving. No, English literature is too sensible, too practical to let the young girl create for herself a chimerical ideal; she expects to find in him a friend, a tender and devoted companion, but a human being with faults and vices. . . She is satisfied by the calm tenderness that her husband shows her. . . If a disappointment in love comes to darken her life, she seeks in intellectual work a remedy for this evil. . . If her husband has business reverses, not making enough money to support the home, she sets resolutely to work without in the least reproaching him.

Again Audouard said:

> In the New World, the woman is truly the companion, the associate of the man. He has confidence in her intelligence, consults her, and initiates her into his affairs. Since he knows that death may surprise him, he wants her to be able worthily to take his place.

Elsewhere she remarked that Americans

> Will tell you that their women are excellent wives, very good housekeepers, and, with a bit of malice, they will call your attention to the fact that young American women are sufficiently sought in marriage by Europeans, and especially by the French, while it is very rare for an American to marry a French woman.

Believers in the theory of "the man-made world" welcome the rise of common-sense attitudes and relationships between the sexes and believe that under normal conditions exaggeration of sex-qualities will disappear, that woman will be physically fit for life outside the home and intellectually competent for public functioning, all without damage to the higher values of the marriage relation. A generation ago the conservative was prophesying that business and professional life would make women masculine. Some years

later when this prediction failed he used the continuing femininity of women as argument against the granting of opportunity. The new woman with strong individuality is caught in an unwelcome dilemma: she has to choose between celibacy with its frustration of normal desires and matrimony with the probability of submergence. Man is likely to see in this conflict evidence that she should not have been given a look into the larger world. Thus race habit couples with discrimination in the industrial and business world to throw woman back upon the old one-sided career. Some look on the whole woman's movement as pathological, a matter of economic pressure, and feel that woman does not really want independence. Some women, on the other hand, feel that with things as they are marriage is slavery and are driven toward sex war. At least they feel that the time has come to inject into legislation the feminine point of view, especially with reference to matters touching the family and the home.

But all in all there is little doubt that American marriage is happier than any other in the world. Price Collier in 1894, after speaking of the feminocentric character of the American home, said:

> The proportion of English women who make men comfortable is very large; but, be it said, the proportion of American women who make men comfortable and also proud and happy is probably greater.

If the wife does not want her husband around the house by day, she does in general make a fond mother and a devoted wife, willing to renounce as far as necessary the world of girlish freedom. An increase of intellectual understanding of the functions of wifehood and maternity is putting sporadic emotional reactions more in the background and is elevating woman's func-

tion in a manner that can not but have the happiest effects on her relation to husband and child. With the arrival of reciprocal enlightened loyalty comes a surer guarantee of general happiness than could be afforded by the old halo of blind romance or blind submission on the part of the wife or by the utmost of kindness and condescension on the part of the sovereign male.

VII. THE CAREER OF THE CHILD

The confusion of American civilization occasioned by the dynamics of industrialism and the advance of the age of surplus is reflected in a striking manner in the status of the child. In some instances he is unwelcome, neglected, turned over to menials, or left to his own devices. In many other cases he has been receiving unwonted attention, made the object of scientific study, and reared according to the most enlightened standards. On the whole it can not be doubted that America has entered upon "the century of the child." The ante-bellum period witnessed on the one hand the emancipation of the young from old constraints and on the other the beginnings of the enslavement of youth in the new industrial development. The intervening period has to a large degree negotiated the completion of both processes and has begun the new emancipation from industrial bondage. As befits a civilization with a broadening future, the child is becoming the center of life.

The basic economic factors of the new America account in the main for the distinctive elements in the career of the American child. The access of the young to careers beyond immediate parental supervision has been a pronounced factor in the release of youth. Burn in the sixties speaks of youngsters going off to board as soon as they were able to work for their living and a writer in the *Nation* of 1868 stresses the extent to which social capillarity in America draws apart father and son who come to live in different worlds, and mobility puts

vast distances between them.[131] The flux of expansive industry has continued to be pronounced in its effect on the control of the young. In Europe, the boy is as a rule brought up to follow his father's occupation; he does not try to rise above his class. With us, children are taught to aim higher than their father's career and are scarcely likely to think him a great man. Even unlettered foreign parents feel impelled to give their children an education that will fit them for a higher calling; thus they undermine their own prestige. The fact that the American child is not forced into a calling of his parents' choosing tends, of course, to prevent positive estrangement but it facilitates divergence of interests. Moreover the economic independence so frequently attained by young people, even by children, sets them free in many cases from responsibility to parents. By giving up a portion of their wages they purchase immunity from control. Emancipation of girls in this way removes too largely the parental guardianship which is needed as protection against the snares of the vice system.

The strain of the strenuous life imposed by the wastefulness of the present economic system has left many parents slight time and energy for strictness with children and the artificial social "duties" imposed on the more leisurely by the fever of economic aristocracy conspire to the same end, so that children come to be left largely to their own devices or handed over to the care of incompetent menials. Neither course conduces to balanced control. To a very considerable extent, early childhood suffers neglect at the hands of parents by reason of the fact that men are too busy and women too busy or too indifferent to be parents. Mothers

[131] *Nation*, vol. vi, 128.

consume in meaningless social routine time that belongs to their children; they trust the child's brain to the day-school and his soul to the Sunday school, both of which agencies are inefficient through lack of home coöperation. Mothers of means sometimes seem to hold that the infant requires nothing but the physical attentions of a nurse, trusty or otherwise; they are ignorant of the psychic hungerings for genuine mothering. Parents carelessly give children into the hands of nurse-maids and the precious first seven years are suffered to be distorted and spoiled. A father does not always recognize his child's nurse on the street. A boy who was expelled from a select American school said: "Why my father never spoke to me except to tell me to go upstairs;" and his mother shopped all day.[132]

A generation ago, Doctor Sozinskey wrote:

> A large proportion of mothers regard their children during their most plastic years simply as pets. . . Not a few mothers regard their children, if not as necessary evils, at least as subordinate to the claims of fashion or society. . . The lack of personal devotion to the welfare of their children on the part of mothers is a fertile source of the lamentable absence of filial affections and attachment which prevails.

He denounced as a "great and frequent dereliction" the failure of mothers to give their children the natural nourishment and declared that artificial feeding is a crime against infants, "sapping and destroying tens of thousands of lives annually in our land."[133]

An article in the *American Journal of Social Science* in 1892 stated:

> The children of the poor, in spite of many drawbacks, fare better in some respects than those of the well-to-do. They often respond better to treatment when they are sick. They are at least not deprived of that contact with their fellows and

[132] Compare Van Vorst, "People to whom we confide our Children."
[133] Sozinskey. "Aspects of Maternity."

struggle for existence which is absolutely essential to health: whereas the children of the so-called higher classes are too often educated in sensitiveness and false and hurtful views of life, not always by precept or example but by force of circumstances.[134]

A striking testimony to the failure of parenthood among many of the prosperous occurs in an advertisement in a current magazine. A prominent schoolman seeks to make capital of the fact that

Conditions of modern life have created a large class of society whose social or industrial circumstances are such that children cannot well be educated from or in the home. In many cases the social duties of the mother and the business cares of the father leave no time for that home life and parental care so necessary to the regular and natural development of child life. In many other cases the surroundings of the home are such that parents feel constrained to send the child away for his education. Crowded apartment houses, lack of play room, want of neighborhood life, street companionship of uncertain or evil character, the overcrowding of the public schools – these and other reasons are literally forcing thousands of our city population to seek boarding schools for their children.[135]

The misfortunes of neglected children of the well-to-do whose mothers not only refuse to be submerged in them but even fail of necessary duty are well exhibited in an investigation made by an experienced teacher, a college woman, who sought in the regular way positions as nursery governess.[136] She found the position looked down on by stenographers and inadequately esteemed by mothers. Several of the women interviewed thought their children so charming that to care for them was the greatest privilege.

I cannot help wondering [writes the investigator] why such mothers do not care for their offspring themselves. . .

[134] Taylor. "American Childhood from a Medical Standpoint," 54-55.

[135] Swetland. "Demand for the Private School."

[136] Bensley. "Experiences of a Nursery Governess:" a series in *Everybody's*, vols. xii and xiii.

> None of them asked for my references, nor indeed did any one make of me any more important demand than Mrs. Barcus's [that I should be willing to wear the uniform]. They were more or less blindly affectionate mothers with no intelligent appreciation of their responsibility, devoted enough to their children to rave over them but too weak-willed and shallow really to train them.

One mother left to the governess all correcting of the children's table manners. Bad manners were overlooked if shoes were well-blacked. The talk at meals was of no benefit to the children. The mother was ignorant and indifferent as to their studies. The only instructions she ever gave with regard to the children was how to put up curls in rags. "As far as money went she was most generous, for she wanted to be able to neglect her children with a clear conscience." She never relied on her authority; she urged the children to learn only in order to please the nurse. At breakfast and supper the father was buried in his paper and the mother seldom appeared. The children "were as fond of their parents as they were permitted to be" but were hardly acquainted with them. They knew nothing of courtesy; "they were more ignorant and backward than the children of the slums, and the training of their whole lives must be undone before they could even be started in the right direction." The chauffeur got one hundred dollars a month; the governess, eight dollars a week and board.

The second place was a beautiful country estate where the children were well-reared and happy but were insulated from the world. There were almost no neighbors and the library contained not a volume of fiction or verse. In the next position the governess fared as a menial. The father was a profane autocrat without personal regard for his wife and children. The wife was broken in spirit and "almost continually

under the influence of terror or of drugs." At the next place the father was indifferent to his family and to public morality. The mother was an utterly useless parasite.

The conclusion of this intimate study is that the rich fail to profit by their opportunity to select the associates and instructors of their children. Sometimes these are worse taught and worse companioned than the children of the slums, who go to school instead of consorting with a mediocre governess and with servants who are morally, intellectually, and socially inferior to mechanics and factory hands. The trouble is that a large proportion of the children in well-to-do homes are not wanted. "The neglected children of the rich are given all that money can buy; but this is the same sort of treatment, differing only in degree, that their carriage horses receive." Children's individuality is often ignored. In some homes where they are wanted and loved, love is so unwisely indulgent as to prove the children's undoing.

But while among the rich the child is likely to be treated as a pet animal, dismissed to the nursery when mutual entertainment sags, among the poor he has commonly been treated as an economic asset. The problem of protecting the child against unfeeling practices of his own parents is but part of a larger problem – the capitalist system in whose midst the home suffocates. Much of the bitterness of family life among the poor is due to deprivation. The mother goes out washing till within two or three weeks of the birth of her babies, perhaps; and her children, if they survive, are neglected; while the husband blames her for her discontent or abuses her for having babies, whereas those that profit by cheap labor are prepared to resist to the

last ditch the proposal to remove the ban from birth control information and to allow the question to work out on its own merits.

Under such circumstances parents are tempted to hand over the child to industry under the tyranny of capitalism. The report of a committee to the Massachusetts legislature in 1866 states that factory representatives made systematic canvasses for small children. "Small help is scarce; a great deal of machinery has been stopped for want of small help, so that the overseers have been going around to draw the small children from schools into the mills." A witness said: "They'll take them at any age they can get them, if they are old enough to stand." This unscrupulous encroachment played into the hands of parents that chose to be parasites on their children as well as tempted hard pressed parents of better disposition. The 1874 report of the Massachusetts *Bureau of Statistics of Labor* expressed its convictions thus:

> From what we have been able to learn, the law in relation to the employment of children neither is, nor can be, enforced. Should the managers of mills coöperate heartily with the officers of the cities and towns, or of the state, the law could not well be enforced. The testimony of the school boards in some of the manufacturing places is, that often as much difficulty arises from parents as from mill-owners and managers.
>
> The interest of parents, and, alas, too frequently the necessity of the case, compels the father or mother, or both, to register a falsehood, in order to keep the wolf from the door; but so long as children of tender age, more fit for the hospital than the mill, are allowed to have a place in our factories, their employment will be tolerated, and the cheapness of their labor materially affects the wages of older persons. . .
>
> It is safe . . . to say that, at least twenty-five thousand children between the ages of five and fifteen do not receive the slightest education either in our public or private schools.

From all we can learn, a very large proportion of this number would come under the provisions of the sole factory-law of the Commonwealth, if the law was broad enough and provided sufficient means for enforcing it.

The deputy state constable of Massachusetts reported in 1875 that there were then in the commonwealth upwards of sixty thousand children of school age growing up in ignorance, in open violation of the letter and spirit of law. These children grew up thus, largely because of the low wage scale which impelled fathers to send the children into the mills. Girls grew up ignorant of housekeeping by reason of their mothers' factory employment.

They grow up slatternly and so find it difficult to obtain situations. They grow up open at various points to moral temptations which would not assail them if a higher spirit of self-respect had been fostered by giving the head of the family power to maintain his household.[137]

In the *Sixth Annual Report* of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor (1875) it is reported that

The instances of parents possessed of sufficient means to raise their families above want, to give them comfortable homes, pleasant surroundings and a good education, who yet house them in dirt and squalor, clothe them in rags, and drive them daily to the factory to add still more to the savings-bank deposit, are not few. . .

In one of the cities where a half-time school exists, in which the children are nearly all of one nationality, it was the testimony of the mill agent that the fathers, as soon as they had children whose united earnings would support the family, were wont to give over all personal effort, and spend their time in idly smoking their pipes in the sun, in summer, and about the kitchen or saloon stove, in winter. This was claimed to be true of the majority of fathers of children of this nationality in this mill. Among them a rapidly growing family is not

[137] Cook. *Labor*, 207-208.

reckoned as a burden, but is looked upon as the happy harbinger of days of restful ease and fumous comfort.

Child labor in the United States increased greatly in the generation following 1870.[138] Sometimes family extravagance and mismanagement can be given as the cause of child labor; or again, foolish thrift or pure greed. But often children desire to work on their own account in order to have pocket money or to escape from school. Sometimes idleness or dissipation on the father's part has been responsible. But making allowance for all such factors, the pressure of a wasteful and unfair economic system on the standard of living must be kept continually in view. The father finds wages too low and puts the children to work. Perhaps he becomes accustomed to living on such earnings and those of his wife until the prop breaks and the family pitches into pauperism, the children becoming subjects for charity or reform schools. The adoption of birth control by the upper ranks of labor reflects the general pressure. By tolerating the premature employment of children the nation reverses the process of evolution, by shortening infancy, and thereby undermines civilization.

A special family problem is presented by the skilled working class. Fathers can keep their children in school, at least till they finish the grades, but can scarcely dress them as they desire. The girls go to work in quest of finery; false standards develop that hinder marriage or spoil it and make life a hopeless grind. Betts says that the skilled workingman's family and that of the small-salaried men present the most difficult problems in the use of money and of time.

[138] Abbott. "Early History of Child Labor in America," 36.

"Their daughters are often far more helpless than the daughters of men of wealth." During school days they are ordinarily left free from housework and do not learn to sew. Then their work leaves little chance of learning the household arts.

While one set of social factors, however, has contributed to the neglect or exploitation of the child, other influences have been operating to put child care on a social and scientific basis. A nation with the large economic leeway possessed by America is in a good position to release the child from unwholesome burdens and to bestow costly care, and although we have been niggardly in this regard much has nevertheless been accomplished to put to rights the career of the child.

Child-welfare work has of late reached high development both by private and by governmental action (which last will be suggested more fully later in a discussion of social parenthood). A regular chair on children's diseases was established in 1860 in the New York Medical College but lasted only a few years. The second was at Harvard in 1898. There were few children's hospitals or wards until a few years ago, even in the largest cities. Within the past fifty years society has taken up a definite policy concerning children's rights. The first child protective movement began in New York in 1874. At that time it was said that at least ten thousand young boys roamed the streets of New York by day and took refuge at night in any place that seemed to offer safe retreat, while their older and more vicious confederates planned predation.[139] Mothers sent girls of eight or ten years to sell flowers and

[139] On the foregoing points see Payne, *Child in Human Progress*, pp. iv, 6, 11, 335-336.

papers at night, and the little ones wandered at will into hotels, saloons, and immoral resorts at midnight and after. Baby farming, carried on by miserable women that did not shrink from murder, was regarded as a legitimate business.[140] Even as late as 1913, indeed, it was found through investigation by the School of Social Economy that in St. Louis of seven hundred fifty illegitimate babies born annually one-third disappeared. Babies were sold at from two to twenty-five dollars and no record of the whereabouts of the majority was kept.[141]

Certainly in an advanced society children need more care than among primitive peoples and anything that deprives them of this care is retrogressive. But more has been written about the child in the last fifty years than in all the world before, and particularly in America the cult of the child has done much to offset dangerous tendencies. Child study[142] is in a sense an American development. The first important study of childhood made in this country was in 1879, based upon thousands of physical measurements of Boston schoolchildren. Previous to that time "practically no scientific observations of child life had been undertaken in America." Now, in consequence of the new knowledge, the child can no longer be looked upon as a "little man" or a "little woman" to be handled in adult fashion. Parents have acquired deeper reverence and greater love for children. Child-study tends, moreover, to make teachers more marriageable. A closer bond of union has grown between home and school.

[140] White. "Epoch of the Child," 214-217.

[141] Milwaukee *Leader* news item dated St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 27 [1913].

[142] Compare Wiltse. "Preliminary Sketch of History of Child Study in America;" and "Preliminary Sketch of History of Child Study for Year ending Sept., 1896."

Parents and teachers have shown remarkable willingness to apply the practical results of child-study and to remedy defects detected thereby. The American, as befits the citizen of a new land with open future, retains the ability to look from the child's point of view, partly because conditions have kept the adult a child. This ability is reflected in the excellence of juvenile literature.

Well-meaning family papers of the sixties published "too numerous immoral tales in which are portrayed models of superhumanly excellent youthful character."[143] This type was continued for a time in such publications as the Alger books and in Sunday school libraries. But at least twenty years ago Alger's works began to be removed from the better public libraries, tho they are still obtainable in cheap editions. Modern Sunday school papers such as *Forward* are wholesome in tone and the public libraries essay to guide children's tastes into wholesome channels. American juvenile literature, says Von Skal,

> Does not try to impress morals as does the German literature which makes it so hard for the German-American to get his children to read it. Even the nickel novels that are read secretly and now and then cause a few boys to go to "the wild west" to fight Indians or become robbers are at bottom harmless for healthy children. An obscene book hardly ever gets into the hands of an American child, and there are no horror novels to make the child hysterical. . .

American children are in large proportion of fine quality. The American environment adds height, weight, and chest girth to the progeny of European stock.[144] Mrs. Busbey felt that "the troops of American boys and girls on their way to school every morn-

[143] "Family Paper:" in the *Nation*, vol. v, 318.

[144] Busbey. *Home Life in America*, 15.

ing are rather noticeable for good physique, and give no evidence of being overindulged." Plainness in children's clothing is conformity to an understanding of the species, a happy difference from the days when furbelows adorned the "emotional luxury." Mrs. Busbey says moreover: "If there is anything that convinces me that we in America talk a great deal too much about our degenerate rich, it is the splendid physical condition and the alert mentality of . . . children from the homes of great wealth."

There has doubtless been much shallowness in the cult of child-study and its applications, and real knowledge is too slightly diffused. Seven or eight years ago President Hall wrote:

> While we are lavishing immense sums and great energy upon the upbringing of our children, there is good reason to believe that no nation in the world's history has ever so far lost touch with the real, intimate nature and needs of childhood.[145]

Some further light is thrown by Mrs. Busbey's words:

> The majority of American women nurse their babies, or make every effort to do so, only adopting artificial feeding or a wet nurse as a last resort. But as the mother is generally nervous, and her strength drained in many other avenues of household and social duties, the child can not flourish. It means a vast expenditure of vitality with the reward of a fretful, exacting American baby, that grows into childhood simply because "God is good and the race is strong." . . The American baby, subject to the passionate instincts of alternating love, tears, pride, and frantic despair, which sway the emotional mother in its care, is not to be envied. . . It is a curious fact that the American mother gives, in the love for her baby, full sway to the emotion and demonstration of affection she withholds from her husband. . . There are a growing number of households where the baby is put into a nursery with a good nurse, fed punctually at stated periods, cries little, and sleeps well. . . But the average American baby is cared

[145] Hall. "What is to Become of Your Baby," 665.

for in abject worship by its mother and the household is turned topsy-turvy for the benefit of this smallest member.

The American child has, indeed, achieved a remarkable importance and a remarkable freedom. Material illustrative of the increasing enfranchisement of the young is largely in the same vein as that cited for the period before the Civil War.

A writer on the "New England Home" remarked in the *Monthly Religious Magazine* in 1861:

> In the genuine New England home of today, still that good old-fashioned thing called *obedience* lingers. In too many homes, judging by what we see and hear, it is deemed intrusive and turned out. Parents have ceased to command where children have ceased to obey. Aspiring boys and girls put down fathers and mothers, and set aside the will of middle life as old and slow. I have heard boys in short life ridicule their mothers, snub their fathers, and behind their backs say everything of them but what was decent and filial. I have known pert misses, scarcely in their teens, override authority and entreaty, and boast among their associates of the manner in which they got round their mothers. One may gather from his own observation and experience the most atrocious instances of disrespect and misrule, such as would disgrace an age of barbarism. And unfortunately we have come to consider all this as inevitable, and are lamenting as incurable that which is the work of our own hands. The trouble grows out of the fact that we have not insisted on obedience. Desirous of avoiding the harshness of our early experience, we have insensibly run into a more pernicious extreme, relaxing all family discipline, and becoming a mere "mush of concession," as Emerson says, to our children. If we give a command, they feel pretty sure it will not be insisted on; if we make a threat, they feel confident it will not be executed; if we establish a law, in a little while they know we shall grow tired of enforcing it. And so we have virtually put home into the hands of our children, as old Helios put the horses of the sun into the hands of Phaeton, and they seem driving us to much the same disaster. But there are homes where obedience is still believed in and enforced

and they are not the most wretched, but the brightest and the gladdest, the true types of the New England home.

General democratic traditions in America are favorable to the freedom of the child. Burn says incisively: "'Honor thy father and thy mother,' is a maxim which is little attended to in this land of liberty, and the injunction of 'call no man master' is fulfilled to the letter through the whole round of society." Gaillardet in 1883 declared that "the family, which is a monarchy in the old world, has become, like everything else, a republic in the new. The father is not a king; he is simply a president." Muirhead, who visited America in the early nineties, found the doctrine of the equality of man rampant among children and that "even the public authorities seem to recognize the inherent right of the American child to have his own way." Von Skal in his work of 1907 says that it does not occur to the American that the child as such is entitled to less regard than are other persons.

It is natural that in a dynamic nation, where experience counts for so little as compared with invention, ancestors and the aged should be little worshiped and venerable institutions should receive scant respect. Burn said that in America, young people soon learn to throw off the restraints of an uncomfortable religion. He had "witnessed numerous instances where both young men and girls lost no opportunity in proving how infinitely superior they were to their vulgar old fathers and mothers." A progressing system of education operates of course to widen the gap of knowledge. Burn found that a little learning gave "upstart consequence" to the offspring of humble parentage. Rose said that many persons that professed no religion would send their children to Catholic schools "as being the

only institutions where duty to parents is inculcated." Von Skal in 1907 said that the leading thought in American education is to develop self-reliance, independence, and self-respect. At all events the rapid change of school methods and material puts the parent at a disadvantage in attempting to keep up with the child.

The stimulating life of the new world has tended to a striking precocity in child life. Burn declared that children are generally premature adults. De Hauranne who spent eight months in America in 1864-1865 spoke of the precocity of both sexes: the men, for the most part, "live in business from their infancy," rarely receiving a college education; the women "left to their own devices from infancy" early begin the all-absorbing search for a husband. Bates' *Year in the Great Republic* (published in 1887) finds in "the system of easy social intercourse" a menace to the child. "The tendency is to sap all the sweet and unreasoning impulses of childhood, and to give us instead spoilt, capricious, precocious little old men and women." Muirhead observed that the small American interrupts conversation, has a voice in every matter, eats and drinks what he pleases. Anna Rogers wrote a few years since of

> An elaborately dressed American baby of six, entirely unattended, walking into a huge hotel dining-room, where her parents had lived for years, and ordering "devilled crabs and pink ice cream" for her dinner, which the poor little creature actually ate amid the smiling glances of the guests and waiters . . . by no means an isolated circumstance.

The nursery is not an American institution. Even when such a place is provided and carefully equipped it lacks the weight of tradition and its social function is not well understood. For a long time American life

was too crude to allow of the segregation of childhood. Even today, the cost of living makes it impossible for most families to set apart a room which children can call their own. They therefore tear all over the house. The American child lives, thus, in an adults' world. Many city children lack sufficient juvenile contacts; they have few or no brothers and sisters, neighborliness is of dubious safety. Unless the child is allowed to roam the streets, he may see more of nurse, parents, and a few other adults than of all the rest of the world. Thus the child is denied the sort of mental stimulus normal to his age and perhaps even passes through childhood without being a child.

The enfranchisement of infancy has not been a violent conquest. Burn attributed the usage of youngsters going off to board in great measure to the folly of parents who want to see their children precocious and smart like other people's. De Hauranne remarked of the same period that American children are not burdened with futile moral lessons, they are not flogged, they are not kept tied hand and foot, but are early allowed to grapple with things. Kleiber, an "apostolic missionary" said in his *Amerika* that children are generally brought up without religion, that parents generally do not make their children go to school, that the parent treats his children rather indifferently and is not vexed if they do not obey his commands. Von Skal in *Das amerikanische Volk* says that the American requires of the child obedience but no subjection; parents do not take it amiss if a child repeats a refused request and will perhaps grant it later not only because circumstances may have changed but because persistence and determination are considered worthy of reward; the child must be fitted for the

struggle for existence; he is left to practical experience to tone him down.

As befits a growing civilization, parents are prone to sacrifice, to subordinate themselves to their children; and children accept rather unthinkingly the sacrifices offered. To clothe the child in remodeled clothing of the parent was emblematic of the old order. Today the child receives the newest and the best that the parent can afford. The best American homes have come to center in the child. Suggestive are Muirhead's impressions of the early nineties that

> Nowhere is the child so constantly in evidence [as in America]. Nowhere are his wishes so carefully consulted; nowhere is he allowed to make his mark so strongly on society in general. . . Even the father is expected to spend hours in patient consultation over [the infant's] food, his dress, his teething-rings and his outgoing.

Very noteworthy has been the freedom accorded to girls. De Hauranne said of the mid-sixties that girls of twelve went and came freely, often alone, and that girls were not kept in ignorance of the things they must really learn. Sir George Campbell in a work of the later seventies says: "The American girls are . . . more independent than our girls are. They think it a reproach if they cannot be trusted to go with a young man either to church or a theatre." Gaillardet's *L'Aristocratie en Amérique* tells of father and mother's learning of daughter's marriage only by a letter from her and remarks that absence of dowry curtails parents' hold on daughters. Bourget, who was in America in the early nineties, says that the "apotheosis of woman, which is the most characteristic feature of 'society' in America is . . . especially the apotheosis of the young girl." The unmarried American girl has indeed all the freedom that in Europe does not come till

marriage. Everything tends to give her her own aspirations and independent plans. Unintentionally her manners to her elders often show indifference bordering on rudeness.

The child of the immigrant experiences special temptation to waywardness. Burn referred at the time of the war to the insubordination of such children. Offspring of Irish parents often became "ashamed of their humble but honest fathers and mothers." The flood of the new immigration of the last thirty years has accentuated the problem of juvenile emancipation. Children of immigrants lose respect for parents and the home becomes practically nonexistent. In many instances the parents of tenement-house families—themselves industrious peasant laborers—have been disgraced by idle and vicious grown sons and daughters. While the immigrants themselves are likely to be more law-abiding than native Americans, their offspring catch the new-world habit and outdo the natives. Children grow up and refuse to attend their parents' church—Welsh, German, or French; Protestant or Catholic. American traditions will not long suffer such tutelage as prevails among some of the foreign stock, as for instance among the Hull House neighbors, where many of the Latin race have employed careful chaperonage over marriageable daughters and provided husbands at an early age. "My father will get a husband for me this winter. I saw two already but my father says they haven't saved enough money to marry me." The father does not allow her to go out after dark unaccompanied by himself. Miss Addams, in the *Spirit of Youth* said that one often hears such comment as: "Francesca can't even come to the Sodality meeting this winter. She

lives only across from the church but her mother won't let her come because her father is out West working on a railroad." This system seemed to work well only when carried through to early nuptials; American ways, moreover, are certain to disintegrate it; it often breaks down. Of course American youth are outspoken in condemnation of such extreme control. American girls develop deep sympathy for Hebrew girls whose marriage is regulated or coerced by their parents.

The preëminence accorded the child in America has excited a plethora of comment, compounded of appreciation and of alarm. Burn was of the opinion that demoralization comes from young folks' boarding, for while "no doubt, many of the boarding-house keepers are people of unimpeachable character . . . in consequence of the notions of personal liberty and self-sufficiency entertained by young people of both sexes it is next to impossible to exercise anything like a salutary control over their conduct." He heard the members of a family tell their parents that they recognized no obligation for their birth or rearing. "Though this heartless doctrine may not always find expression in words, I believe it is but too frequently acted upon by young America." De Hauranne said: "Nowhere are the children so free, so bold, such *enfants terribles*, as in America." Other works of the sixties speak of lack of respect for age. One says: "Children have too much of their own way and are educated to think too highly of themselves." To the foreigner, the American child has seemed wild, unruly, and disrespectful, the product of overindulgence. Teachers have attributed to parental ignorance and carelessness much of the slovenliness, stupidity, and misbehavior exhibited by their pupils.

At the National Unitarian Conference of 1895 Mrs. Anna G. Spencer pointed out that

> One-fourth of all dependent children – those who . . . must be fathered and mothered by society at large – are such because of the parents' fault. . . And wayward children, when sentenced to reform schools under the age of twelve years, are very many of them the victims solely of the same parental incompetency. This fact leads to the dismal and puzzling maze of domestic wrongs, the frequent divorces and more frequent temporary separations of parents which throw the children out upon the world. These evils, and the blacker problems revealed by the inner history of prostitution among young girls, take us into the very heart of the world movement toward equality of rights and opportunities for both sexes.

In 1914 George J. Kneeland stated that he had a list of three hundred girls of wealthy families who secretly practiced immorality. One woman's club would not listen to his presentation of conditions. These girls, he said, were not weak-minded or subnormal; most of them went wrong out of a spirit of rebellion against the dullness and strictness of home life. They generally turned to strangers, often travelling salesmen, for fear their secret would become known. They were often prominent in Sabbath school; but in the close personal contact of the modern dances they lost all control of themselves. In one Massachusetts town an inspector found a number of fifteen and sixteen year old girls apparently respectable, leading careers of vice.[146]

In the report of the corresponding secretary of the National Divorce Reform League for 1896 occurred this suggestion:

> We shall begin to see very likely, that the self-assertion of our American youth, growing out of an intense egoism, with its lack of reverence, docility, and ready acceptance of the duties and obligations of the school, has much to do with making the

[146] Wisconsin *State Journal*, June 17, 1914, p. 1.

age later at which the American boy is ready for college in this country as compared with the youth of Germany.

If this retardation signified merely a fuller and richer period of youth we might consider it as in line with the trend of evolution, but there is danger, also, of precocity that amounts to senility. Thus a leading educator tells of a boy, the son of society parents, who early became utterly blasé by reason of excessive attendance on social functions. Twenty years ago Katherine Beebe complained that wherever she went, whether to call, to chat with a friend, to take luncheon or dinner, or to talk about the child with his mother, the children were always on hand; either there was no place away from parlor, sitting-room, or dining-room where they could be made comfortable or the mother had not the temerity to send them thither. American mothers have been declared "too nervous to make the best companions for their children." Of course the grown-up world of thought is not suitable as exclusive dietary for the child; to retain him constantly in it is to shorten infancy and interfere with normal evolution. It may be that the forwardness, precocity, and pertness of American children can be traced largely to this source. One advantage of kindergarten life is that in contrast with the home the whole program is arranged for a child's world.

One reason why Americans are not strenuous in discipline is that coercion is supposed to break the will and hinder self-expression. In many homes, therefore, the child becomes arbitrary dictator. American fathers are charged with being "strangely weak and invertebrate" in relation to their children. A foreigner who was entertained in the home of a university professor has told "not without a little awe, but with much

anxiety for the next generation of America, of the premature emotions and the dictatorship of the little men and women (he insists there are no children in America)." Spoiling results from the "peace at any price" policy. "Perhaps the independence of girlhood makes for a certain hardness instead of strength of character," thinks Mrs. Busbey.

The undue exaltation of infancy operates to disturb the normal equilibrium of home and the true balance of interests. The love-madness of the mother often sacrifices husband and father to the cult of the child. He is violently hushed at the door, his rights are ignored, he is neglected hour after hour. The emotionalism thus displayed is strongly suggestive of the traits of primitive people. Perhaps even more harmful, however, is the doting exuberance of affection lavished by grandparents.

Many marked advantages have, however, proceeded from the American way with children. De Hauranne said that experience of freedom matured the Americans and developed "in them practical reason at an age when, with us, it is still slumbering under the dreams and illusions of adolescence." Holyoake's *Among the Americans* referred to the reputed wilfulness of American children and added:

> It did not appear to be so in any of the families which I had opportunities of observing; on the contrary, there were manifest affectionate and intelligent obedience. At the same time it was apparent that young people were more self-acting than they are in England, where we have a somewhat unwise domestic paternalism.

This writer recognized advantage in the American habit of training children to self-dependence. Von Skal concedes that the American child is keen at finding weak places in the fence around him. He adds:

"It is natural that in a people born of force and in whom the traces of readiness for deeds of violence are still ever visible, youth also should not be choice or careful in the means of carrying out its will." The American child certainly does develop an independence well adapted to the fierce struggle of individualism—an alertness and resourcefulness that makes the children of other nations seem dull. How different is our viewpoint from that of some others appears in a naïve remark by a British reviewer: "We did not know that the children of the professional class in America, play in the streets. . . No more harm apparently comes of the common games than of common teaching. It gives the children independence."

A large proportion of American children in fortunate circumstances are healthy, well-behaved, and fond of their homes. They are not likely to be bundled off to boarding-school. Parents worthy of respect have it—intelligent and not blind as of old. The child is mature in his points of view by reason of his contact with adult circles. Parents are at heart devoted. In families of sufficient means to employ nurses, the mother often takes charge of the children. Boys regard girls as comrades and escape in large measure that contempt for girls and that cruel passion so characteristic of certain lands.

There are undeniable advantages in the American usage of admitting the children to the entire daily life of the household. The association helps to retain in American adults that freshness and spirit of youth so essential to a progressive people. Moreover the child grows up in a sense of complete identification with the social group. At a political gathering in a western suffrage state, for instance, a small boy insisted in join-

ing in the discussion on the score that his mother had a vote, as also his sister, who could influence her husband. It seems, however, that there is today a tendency to segregate somewhat the child's realm in the household from that of the adults. Instead of waiting for "second table," the little ones perhaps do not greet dinner guests at all but have had their meal and been put to bed.

The freedom of the modern child and the progressive quality of part of his education makes him more capable of being a real companion to his parents than are children in less progressive communities. Intimacy of children with parents enriches the home life of the middle-class. Where mutual confidence is fostered the father can become the boy's comrade and friend and the mother, likewise, the daughter's; a strong attachment develops also between mother and sons, father and daughters. A. Maurice Low says that daughters are much more with their mothers and become their companions earlier than in Europe. "At an age when the French girl, for example, is still demurely attending her convent, or the English girl is in the hands of her governess, her more emancipated sister across the Atlantic is calling with her mother . . . or assisting her in the drawing room on her reception days." It is to be feared, however, that in most cases the normal comradeship breaks down when most needed, namely in the crisis of pubescence and adolescence. Most American mothers fail to measure up to the responsibility of holding their boys as they approach manhood, and most of them fail to guide their daughters. The men come as far short of proper sympathy and understanding of the needs of youth.

One of the requisites to a proper development of the

child within the family has failed of sufficient attention, namely the actual enfranchisement of every member of the family. It is not sufficient that personal freedom be allowed. The work of the household requires to be divided among the members and family projects need to be discussed in open council where even the smallest child may have voice and influence. The young may thus serve an apprenticeship to the coming social democracy.

VIII. THE PASSING OF PATRIARCHISM AND FAMILISM

Correlate with the democratic consequences of pioneer economics as registered in the waning of autocracy in church and state and the rise of a pervasive social insurgency in the ante-bellum period, a decline in paternal supremacy and a tendency to emancipate the family occurred. This waning of domestic monarchy continues and grows under the influences of the solvent economic forces of industrialism as mediated in a variety of ways. The general democratization of society has continued. Woman has gained economic opportunity outside of marriage and has attained to a growing enlightenment and prestige by means of formal education, working experience, and the development of household economics into a technical pursuit in which it is more and more difficult for man to dictate. Men are increasingly absent from home, whether as commercial travellers, trainmen, commuters, or mere laborers and business men at work some distance from the place of abode. The pressure of business and labor gives man small chance to keep up with the new thought outside his own vocation – thought with which woman is becoming more and more familiar. Moreover society is passing into the régime of surplus which brings with it the lengthening of infancy and the elevation of childhood; increased attention to the technique of child care and education has brought such rapidity of change in educational methods that the father can not compre-

hend what his children are learning, much less help them with their work; a career opens to youth apart from paternal supervision and aid; consequently paternal prestige, and with it paternal power, wanes. Division of labor and the cessation of the household economic unit has brought socialization; society lays claim to the child and refuses to recognize the parent's property right; parental protection of the young becomes less and less necessary and less and less possible as social parenthood gradually absorbs the old domestic jurisdiction. The family experiences individuation, ceases to be a forced grouping, and develops toward ethical unity and spontaneous democracy. Only in out-of-the-way places can the archaic patriarchism maintain itself.

Under the new order, the home comes to be run for the women and children rather than for the man; husband and father is more rarely abusive; he adopts what an English writer resents as the "tame cat" attitude and becomes an earning mechanism whereby the other members of the family attain to vacations, dress, and "society." American men "will work longer and harder for happiness of wife or child" than will any other men. Rivington and Harris said of America in 1869: "The husbands are content to slave in business in order that their wives and families may live in affluence." Bourget, writing of the America of 1893, found behind the insanely expensive Beauty "in the most senselessly luxurious circle in the two hemispheres . . . a father who most likely is never seen, who divides his life between his office, his club, and sanctums, in certain cities the bar of the best hotel." Into his fondness for his daughter "enters less of affection than of pride."

The American husband is usually generous and reluctant to deny his wife anything he can give her. He wants her to be able to show off even tho he kills himself with the strain of providing means for swell society functions. "Occasionally, as the afternoon grows late," wrote Margaret Sangster, "a guest who is intimate in the family may shake hands with a gentleman who is quietly keeping out of sight in a corner of the drawing-room. He it is who pays," perhaps losing by the extravagance the financial support of men who are tiding him over.

To some extent such phenomena may be ascribed to the desire of men to use their women as vehicles of conspicuous consumption—a gorgeous form of advertising—but to a large extent the female becomes really central and final rather than instrumental. Enjoyment is no longer the prerogative of the patriarch.

It has long been observed that in working-class circles the wife enjoys large independence and control. De Rousiers said previous to 1892 that the laborer "does not play the part of patriarch when he comes home to his own fireside. He may not lose the right to smoke his pipe when he crosses the threshold, but he is always in some measure his wife's guest. . . Each has a sphere of interest where he is master or she is mistress." Betts declared in *The Leaven in a Great City* that

> The majority of working men's wives are financially in a far more independent position than the wives even of capitalists where the wives are without an independent income. . . Children will be overdressed, while the father will not even be comfortable. . . There are men who say frankly that they would waste the money if it were in their care; that their wives secure far better results than they could. . . Men who are niggardly and hand out small sums daily, and never recognize

> that the wife has a right to anything beyond food and shelter . . . . are despised.

Sometimes, says Betts, the observer wonders "at the infinite patience of many men;" their wives drift, for many girls are not trained for wifehood. She remarks further that "the small-shopkeepers, to all intents and purposes, treat their wives as partners."

Along with the decay of family monarchy appear certain associated tendencies. The female revolt weakens the husband's sense of accountability for his wife's conduct. The father comes to feel the family as a responsibility rather than as an asset; for restriction on child labor and compulsory education deprive him of the earning power of younger children and the law imposes new burdens, so that while loss of control weakens his sense of obligation and the power of self-interest, the imposition of new requirements increases his restiveness and we have part of the explanation of the phenomenon of family desertion whereby the father leaves to society full responsibility for the family over which he no longer possesses sovereignty. Abandonment of pregnant wives has been especially common. Lilian Brandt in her 1905 study of family desertion said:

> The study of these five hundred and seventy-four records results in the conviction that while here and there the responsibility for desertion may rest with industrial conditions, with ill-considered marriages in early youth or between men and women of irreconcilable differences of temperament, and, somewhat more frequently, with the impossible temper and cooking of the wife, still the most constant element in the situation is the irresponsible, ease-loving man who acts on the theory that when hard times of any sort come he is justified in making arrangements for his own comfort which do not include his wife and children.

In the *American Journal of Social Science* for 1892, H. L. Taylor, M.D., refers to the fact that the time of the city man with his family is usually very limited, and he is not always in a mood in the evening to exert the best influence; often he prefers the club, the lodge, or the street corner. Thus children lose certain elements of character. American fathers did not ordinarily come to Doctor Taylor's office with their ailing children. "Germans are more apt to come than Americans and Hebrews most of all."

There is a tendency to hold the mother responsible for the spiritual tone of the household. C. P. Selden said in 1895 that

> The transference of paternal responsibility to institutions, and more especially to the mother, shows that there is a widespread conviction on the part of fathers, that, however it may be with other people's children, his own, at least, live by bread alone. [Even in the sphere of amusements, the father often finds his own pleasure and sets an example that tends to dissolve the family.]

The mother can care for small children, but at puberty the boy needs a man, and the adolescent girl, even, would profit by the comradeship of her father – an association for which there is not much leisure under the pressure of modern industry and business. Even if the father does take hold of his pubescent boy the fact that the roots of intimacy were not laid in childhood bars complete understanding.

Another phase of the waning of patriarchal supremacy is seen in the fact that woman and society begin to insist on a stricter standard of male morals; the deposed sovereign must answer to the court of his erstwhile vassals; and so strong is the new emphasis that a learned professor has felt called upon to warn women not to

be too insistent on masculine virginity lest they fail of securing a husband.[147] It seems probable that in the restrictions put upon male license by the passing of patriarchism consists much of the advance made in purity of morals. The patriarch could do as he saw fit; the man of today can not, for woman is no longer tied to him; she can declare her independence. Audouard's observations made shortly after the war led to the conclusion that "a man that, in the rôle of lover, would commit adultery with a woman would receive the fitting title of a bad man. Young girls would refuse his suit, home doors would be closed to him." If as Audouard says, "The American is too practical and logical to have a double morality. Desiring people to respect the purity of his wife, he does not seduce his neighbor's wife"—is not much of the new cautiousness the fruit of the new status of woman? Lutaud in *Aux États Unis* is certainly overdrawing the sketch in saying: "There is present among the men a reserve, a timidity, a respect for woman that almost always puts an obstacle in the way of accomplishing the physiological act that constitutes the offence." The fact is that even yet, women acquiesce largely in the morality of their old status and that as in the sixties "the fast men are rather popular than otherwise."[148] It is true, however, that the recklessness of the masterful male is subject to increasing restraints. As Münsterberg has said, "The life of young men [is distinctly purer than in Europe]; a genuine respect for womanhood, without regard to social class, lends purity to the life of the men."

American history consummates the disappearance of

[147] "To Urge the Good to Marry:" in the *Literary Digest*, vol. xlviii, 693.
[148] "Social Evil and Its Remedy:" in the *Nation*, vol. iv, 220.

the wider familism and the substitution of the parentalism of society. About the only survival of the old kin control is the custom of remote collateral inheritance. Under the universal scramble for life every individual now runs a course of his own. The family council as an agency of sovereignty is no more and even the ordinary intimacies of family cohesion have been sensibly lessened.

One of the agencies responsible for the reduction of the family has been the dispersion of population. T. L. Nichols, M.D., in his *Forty Years of American Life* said:

> In the Northern States . . . more than in the South, the ties of family are so often broken that they are loosely held. New England, for a hundred years, has been the hive that poured its swarms of emigrants over the new regions of the West. Families are scattered far and wide.

De Hauranne in his *Huit Mois en Amérique* (in 1864-1865) said

> There are few families in New York that do not have some one of their members, I do not say travelling in some distant part of the world, but transplanted to live in the antipodes and become almost foreign to his country. These trials are accepted with incredible steadiness and coolness. . . You know the story of that American father whose son, arriving from Australia, knocks unexpectedly at his door. He receives him politely, inquires about his health, offers him a seat, and finally asks him to stay for dinner. The American family is like a covey of birds: the young escape as soon as they have wings to fly, and claws for defence. They forget the maternal nest, and often the parents themselves no longer recognize them. They have had the trouble of protecting them in their first feebleness but, this task accomplished, their rights and their duties end together. It is the law of nature in all its crudity: the family associations lasts only so long as it is indispensable to its members. . . The family lasts while the same hearth

> holds it together; but it relaxes as soon as it scatters, for there is no point in maintaining the bond of inheritance and common interests.

Charles Eliot Norton in an article of 1889 on the *Lack of Old Homes in America* mentioned among other factors unfavorable to the existence of hereditary homes the rapid settlement of the continent and the astonishing growth of cities.

> Attachment to the native soil, affection for the home of one's youth, the claims of kindred, the bonds of social duty, have not proved strong enough to resist the allurements of hope . . . and the love of adventure. [The hereditary home is becoming scarcer and loss accrues from the lack of sentimental bonds and of stability.]

A. Maurice Low says that to the majority of Americans:

> No sacred associations cling to the roof-tree, for to the American home is wherever he makes it. . . Freedom of intercourse leads to the daughters marrying and going to the homes of their husbands, five hundred miles, a thousand miles or more away; and the wide scattering of members of a family is regarded as a matter of course.

Another factor in the lessening of family cohesion has been the business spirit and the business development of the American people. The pioneers could scarcely be sentimental, and in a sense most Americans are still pioneers. A writer in the *Nation* of 1869 commenting on the disappearance of the old-fashioned family observes that modern father and son are not necessary to each other and it is absurd to suppose that "the family tie of mother and daughter can be as strong when one is a telegraph operator and the other a treasury clerk as [it was] in the good old times." The flux of capitalist property, moreover, is not favorable to family sentiment. Its abolition of primogeniture has figured

in the separation of the family; but even where primogeniture has lingered, it is scarcely consistent with American economic opportunity that younger brothers should remain as dependents on the elder. De Hauranne, who was in America in the mid-sixties, said:

> You know that in America freedom of testator is unlimited. The only restriction imposed by law is in favor, not of children but of wives. . . [A man] can disinherit his children . . . and often he leaves them only a smaller part of his property. Oftener he benefits one at the expense of the rest. For example he leaves the bulk of his fortune, maybe to the oldest, or to any one of his sons, and you know that in Massachusetts landed property is rarely divided: the oldest takes the land, and the younger enter commerce, industry, business, or go west to make a patrimony for themselves.

Norton in the 1889 article already cited indicates as factors prejudicial to the existence of hereditary abodes the practices as to distribution of property that have grown out of the spirit of equality, and the rise in standard of living by reason of the enormous development of natural resources and consequent diffusion of wealth. Where matters have gone thus, a phase of family strength disappears.

Hagar in his *American Family* expresses the opinion that "for over two hundred years of the colonies and the early republic no essential weakening, impairment, and degeneracy of the family appear." This period of relative stability is obviously the period reaching up to the beginnings of modern industrialism with its consequent cityward drift. How largely the phenomena of laxity are the product of economic evolution has, in various connections, been made sufficiently apparent. A little thought will show that causes cited as distinct are often derivatives of this. There can be little doubt that in the last sixty years the social preëminence of the

family has been notably reduced. It is safe to accept Thwing's assertion that the position of the family in the United States "is lower than it has been in two hundred and fifty years" — if by "lower" we refer not to moral and spiritual status but to authoritative and exclusive function.

The coolness of American family sentiment has been an object of comment since, as before, the Civil War. Doctor Nichols at the time of the war expressed the opinion that America is strangely destitute of family affection and Von Glosz said that there is not much family life in America. Burn said: "The home feelings which conduce to the happiness of private families . . . are . . . by no means common in America." Again he says: "Men in America are units rather than members of local families." And again:

> It is a common practice with parents who look upon their children as an incumbrance to advertise them in their infancy for adoption; these affectionate fathers and mothers either dispose of their little ones for a consideration, or, in their generosity, give them away under the condition, in either case, that they "never see their darlings any more!"

A writer in the *Nation* in 1869 notes the disappearance of the old fashioned family with "the father at the head of the board with his wife and twelve stalwart sons about him, and with the aged grandsire and grandame in the corner." The sons are gone to the ends of the earth or have their own quarters and live their own lives. The grandparents keep a home of their own but do not care to spend the final years in the old homestead. Up-to-date parents do not wish to keep their sons in tutelage. In early adolescence the family ties begin to lessen. Where the father has the sense to set the boy free, "ten to one but he will think his father a very good

fellow . . . and mention him to his wife as a splendid man;" otherwise the father "straightway finds himself called 'governor' and is fortunate if he does not discover some fine morning that his son is clandestinely married to one or other of his female acquaintances whom common philanthropy will not permit a father-in-law to allow to starve."[149] Ratzel in his *Vereinigten Staaten* said that in the North American family one finds much more independence of the individual members, of spouses as well as of children. He attributes the fact partly to the traits of character of the women and the precocity of the children and partly to the deeply rooted concept of personal freedom and responsibility, which assigns to each age its own circle of rights.

Cowley in *Our Divorce Courts* deprecated the passing of the sense of the moral dignity of the family.

> With the abolition of the monarchy (the slow growth of a thousand years) and the rejection of the hereditary aristocracy, at the Revolution, the pride of family naturally declined; but it it to be hoped . . . that a just appreciation of the advantages of having a long line of honorable ancestors has not yet ceased to exist. Men who have no reverence for their ancestors seldom deserve to be remembered by their posterity.

Gaillardet in *L'Aristocratie en Amérique* thought that

> The American has no right to be proud of his home save in point of material equipment. . . The children are generally raised in a fashion more rational than with us, for physical and intellectual development. But once past infancy they are pushed out of their nest like birds. . . The father thinks he has fulfilled his mission and the boys scatter everywhere. The author of their being is no longer for them a father; he is a governor, and that is what they generally call him. Likewise the father does not call the boy "my son," he addresses

[149] "Decay of the Family Affections:" in the *Nation*, vol. viii, 291-292.

> him like a stranger. I remember being dumbfounded at seeing the reception given by his family to a young man returning after a long absence. His mother and he embraced, but his father only shook hands, and said: "How do you do sir?"

Bourget in the early nineties speaking of hotel life says:

> One must have sojourned in one of these hotels and dined with these people to be able to realize how entirely the members of these families live side by side rather than with one another. They eat, indeed, at the same table, but not one ever waits for another. . . The young girl has this principle (every one for himself and by himself) written on her innermost heart. . . The American family appears to be more than anything else an association, a sort of social camp, the ties of which are more or less strong according to individual sympathies, such as might exist between people not of the same blood. I am certain . . . that the friendship of brother and brother, or sister and sister, is entirely elective. So it is with the relations between father and son, mother and daughter.

In De Rousier's *American Life* the "American of Anglo-Saxon origin" is characterized as free from "that large family feeling which characterizes certain European peoples; he is not bound to folks of his own blood by any special connections." "Neither sister nor brother nor cousins are other than neighbors for him." Kenney says that "the child, separated so much from family influences, hopes, and interests as our modern system demands, loses the family feeling of the old style." Bentzon's book of 1895 comments on the indifference with which "many people of ample means let their town or country house to strangers, during an absence of greater or less duration. . . We can't make them understand our dislike for this sort of thing." Gohier says that the family bond is looser in America than in France. "With us one lives more for

the other; in America each lives more for *self*." Felix Adler declared a dozen years ago that

> The family, which exists from generation to generation, is in our eyes no more imposing. I doubt whether among the children of today there are very many who have any real conception of their grandfathers and grandmothers.

The subsidence of the family as the arbiter of life is the culmination of the movement of political democracy which made the individual the social unit. Passing into the sphere of the family this process did away with the collectivity of blood relations of several generations under a ruling head and resulted in the establishment of entirely independent families built around the personal independence of the young husband and his relation to his wife. Mrs. Spencer in her *Forum* article on "Problems of Marriage and Divorce" brings to attention the fact that ours is the first civilization "that has tried in any large way the experiment of placing the entire burden of securing the success of marriage and the family life upon the characters and capacities of two persons." This feature of American life is especially striking to continental Europeans. De Rousiers notes the fact that most American girls get no dowry, that they "fish for husbands," and that the young man has no dowry "and no certainty of any patrimony. American marriage is a union of two people and not an alliance between two families. The parents do not support the young household in any way, and do not interfere in the choice of either party." Gohier, too, observes that in America one marries only the girl, not the whole family as in France.

The persistence or recrudescence of forms of aristocracy has served to some extent to keep alive or revive in America attachment to family and tradition. Cer-

tain families, particularly in New England and the South, enjoy distinct local eminence; and wealth elsewhere has already created dynasties. The tree of the Connecticut Whitney family is traced in three thick volumes and there is another thick work embodying the genealogies of families of royal extraction. Münsterberg is authority for the fact that at the beginning of the twentieth century, among the seven trustees of Harvard there was not one "whose family has not been of service to the State of Massachusetts for seven generations." To some extent, also, the essence of entail has been revived by the creation of trusts which in some states may run for "a life or lives in being and twenty-one years thereafter" thus preventing the distribution of an estate for nearly a century and allowing the heirs no power over the principal.[150]

There are not wanting even yet cases of exaggerated familism, of the magnifying of family interests at the expense of the individual and of society. In some homes, too, life is virtually on the level of communism, with hardly any recognition of private property. Archways take the place of doors; there is no place of privacy. Children burst into their mother's room and use their parents' things at pleasure. Moreover many beautiful instances of family integrity persist. Older brothers and sisters voluntarily help the younger. Children delay marriage in order to help the family. The father provides a vacation in the country while he works. Von Skal says that American family life is founded on the principle that each knows his own value and wants to be treated accordingly. "Compulsion won't work, but mutual love and respect unite with recognition of existing obligations, honest endeavor to

[150] Busbey. *Home Life in America*, 396.

fulfill them, and the subordination of the individual will to the best interest of the whole, which is freely given, and leaves no sore behind."

Among the poor, in particular, is observed wonderful and potent family affection: women and men giving all their lives to their families, manifesting beautiful devotion to the education and future of the child. Working girls give up their wages year after year for the good of their families; their sacrifice is a matter of course, irrespective of the habits of those that control the expenditure. Sisters work to support brothers in idleness. On the other hand, flashy girls who have spent their money on themselves are, after marriage, cared for by their mothers, who will do the washing and other menial tasks as a matter of course. In some homes there is a family bank account on which the children that contribute have no claim; much of the inability of new home-makers to exercise prudence in the use of money is due to inexperience in the handling of it. Spinster sisters, who have refrained from marriage in order to support the aged parents, help married brothers and sisters and prove wiser guides to their nephews and nieces than are the children's parents. Some of the better tenement homes, tho very humble, are the rallying place for children and grandchildren.[151]

Reversion toward or retention of the older familism, however, serves but to accentuate the contrary trend. The new view is that the higher and more obligatory relation is to society rather than to the family; the family goes back to the age of savagery while the state belongs to the age of civilization. The modern individual is a world citizen, served by the world, and home interests can no longer be supreme. Children need not

[151] Betts. *Leaven in a Great City*, chapters 8 and 9.

grumble if much of their father's estate goes to social purposes. The transition must be accepted, in spite of the fact that loss is entailed along the way – that individualism runs wild for a while ere new restraints develop. The fact that energy which formerly concentrated on the home is being turned in other directions, largely toward self-gratification, means a groping for a new equilibrium. What seems to be mere love of change and impatience of control, "the easy movement of population which makes 'home' often but an attachment to the moving van; the flexible yet complicated social arrangements which make it easy to shirk individual responsibility, the economic pressure, intensified by the desire, so painfully common, to live more luxuriously than one can afford . . . the rule of personal desire and individual idiosyncracy"[152] – all these phenomena are preliminary to a recentering of society; they are the clearing of the ground for a broader socialization.

Meanwhile they present problems that occasion excessive alarm. Young men fall into crime for want of family ties or by reason of bad homes. Men desert their wives. Since the bonds of tradition are thrown off, the family has no safeguard save the character of the parents. Parents are shy about speaking to their children concerning religion. The interests of the individuals are divergent and detached from the home. There is perhaps a diminished willingness to sacrifice for the welfare of other members of the family and a growing need to stress family affection as if it were abnormal. Society casts off certain old traditions and manifests a disposition to excuse illegitimates from the

[152] Spencer. "Problems of Marriage and Divorce": in the *Forum*, vol. xlviii, 188-190.

stigma of parental sin and to devise ways of protecting the families of criminals from the consequences of their punishment.

In spite, however, of disorganizing tendencies towards free individualism, the reduction of family functions has not been solely anarchistic but has been due in large measure to the transfer of prerogatives to more inclusive social institutions. Dike in his *Perils to the Family* observed that a feature of modern civilization is "its steady increase in the surrender of power and offices from the family to the other institutions of society." In 1910 he said:

> Since the Civil War there has been a strong tendency towards combination in the larger social groups at the expense of the smaller. Communal group action has taken the place of action in domestic groups. The Home has been turning over its former work to the shop, the school, and the Church. At least the development of the resources of the Home has not gone on with the corresponding care that has been given to the development of communal forms of activity.[153]

He was, of course, alarmed at the "tendency to reduce the family to a minimum of force in the life of society" and feared that

> If the family does not have its full share in care and use . . . if interest in other institutions turn activities away from it; if its great essential functions – those which it cannot surrender, even in the highest stage of civilization – fall into neglect or be wrongly exercised, there is danger both for the family and all the other institutions with it.

It is but natural, however, that with the interdependence of modern life an increased share of social control should pass to the more inclusive institutions of society.

Modern social ideals guarantee to the child certain essential rights as an individual. Under the old clan-

[153] National League for Protection of the Family. *Annual Report for 1909*, p. 12.

family the parentalism of the kinship group obscured the unfitness of individual parents and safeguarded to some extent the claims of the rising generation. The patriarchal régime often subjected children to extreme oppression but the matter was within the family and did not disturb the economic balance of society. But as soon as the new family consisting of only the parents and the children stood forth society saw how many were unfit for parenthood and began to realize the need of community care.[154]

Less than forty-five years ago a city missionary heard of fearful beatings of a girl in New York City. The police professed inability to interfere unless a witness could swear that the child's life was endangered. A city magistrate proved by a law book that he was powerless. Charitable societies could not act. At every turn the missionary learned that "it was a serious matter to interfere between parents and child." Finally the child was rescued by the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Such conditions led to the formation of the Children's Protective Society.[155]

As familism of the wider sort, and even immediate, weakens, society has to assume a larger parenthood. The school begins to assume responsibility for the functions thrust upon it; the Sunday school undertakes a more scientific religious pedagogy. The juvenile court is developed as a protection to the young and parents are called to account for disregard of juvenile delinquency. Education is made compulsory, and the authorities commence to introduce school lunches, free books, medical inspection, and playground facilities. The kindergarten grows downward toward the cradle

[154] Spencer. "Social Responsibility toward Child-life," 108, 112.

[155] White. "Epoch of the Child," 214-217.

and there arises talk of neighborhood nurseries. Baby-feeding stations with educational classes are established in behalf of the children of the poor. Provision is made for the removal of children from unfit parents and child labor laws essay to protect the child from the capitalist, the parent, or himself. Social centers replace the old time home chimney.

Moreover the state essays to guard more strictly the entrance to marriage by passing medical examination laws and by requiring residence and notice as preliminaries. Mothers' pensions are inaugurated and the general endowment of motherhood begins to receive serious consideration. The Chicago Court of Domestic Relations, established in 1911, is a striking illustration of the performance by society of functions that of old fell to the council of the kin. Its work is the reverse of that performed by the divorce court. It compels deserters to support their families and sees to it that deserving and unfortunate women and children are placed under protection that will help them toward self-maintenance. It is said that this court and another established about the same time in New York have satisfactorily settled large numbers of divorce cases. The very existence of such courts will head off trouble in many cases.

In general, society is coming more and more to accept as a duty the task of guaranteeing wholesome upbringing of the young. As amusement and social intercourse have forsaken the poverty-stricken homes and betaken themselves to public places the child passes more and more into the custody of community experts who are qualified to perform the complexer functions of parenthood which the revolution in industrial and social life has made imperative and which the parents

have neither time nor knowledge to perform. Some students maintain that the home is hopelessly inefficient as an economic instrument. Mrs. Gilman has even ventured the assertion that social parentage is now more important to the child than is the personal.

The agencies of social parenthood are capable of being used either for the development of family responsibility or for its subversion. Education has largely ignored the fundamental human relationships. The expansion of the school tends to weaken the family. Charity may readily act as an instrument of demoralization. In his report for 1893 the corresponding secretary of the National Divorce Reform League said:

> I know of a society which has placed thousands of children in families all over the prairies, whose secretary admits that it has done nothing whatever to better the condition of the homes whence the children are taken, though he confesses this is very important. . . Practically puts a premium on poverty and want, offering to take the helpless little ones off the hands of the indifferent parents as soon as their conditions may justify the action of an agent who may be more ambitious to place a child than he is to improve its natural home. An open saloon at convenient corners, easy administration of careless marriage and divorce laws, a host of unorganized and unrelated charities, a smooth road to the almshouse, the great west, and the adoptive home, are all in their way encouragements to intemperance, to a hasty and brief domestic life, to improvidence, poverty, and parental neglect. In more subtle, and no less dangerous ways, do a multitude of efforts to do the religious and educational work of the Home almost wholly outside its walls tend to demoralize the domestic spirit.

When charity becomes commonplace, self-dependence wanes. In many cases parents have applied to the authorities to have their children placed in institutions. Sometimes the parent makes no effort to keep in touch with the child or with the institution. Parents charge their children with being beyond control in

order to relieve a step-father of a burden. The charity system at its worst is an enemy of the home. It destroys the privacy and proprietorship that characterize the self-respecting family. "To make an 'efficient' showing it drives women to prostitution whom it could have saved by decent treatment; tears children from their parents and severs husband from wife in their last days." One unfortunate woman explained what followed her application for aid:

> From then on we had no repose. They helped us with a few dollars, but every other day some one else inquired about us – at the neighbours' – at the grocer – butcher. They visited us at all hours of the day and night. Sometimes when we had visitors the investigator would question them, until all our friends have left us. They followed the poor children to their work and went to take information from the employer. On one occasion, when the girls struck together with the other workers of the shop the boss cried out to my girls: "I'll show you! When the charity will come I'll give such information that you wouldn't get a cent." This was too much for the poor children. They came home, packed their belongings – and – [here the poor woman broke into hysterical weeping and cried:] My house is empty. Cursed be the hour when I applied to charity. I should have gone out begging in the street.[156]

Moreover charity and state institutions such as hospitals and old-age pensions reduce the desire for children.

The better social agencies try to keep the home up to its responsibilities, realizing that unless the social resources on deposit in the institution of the family unfold at least as fast as the other phases of civilization society may suffer from disproportion and waste. The enlightened attitude is expressed in a report in the New York Senate on March 27, 1914, as follows:

> The normal development of childhood is one of the main functions of government. The best education requires a prop-

[156] Bercovici. *Crimes of Charity*: review in the *Weekly People*, May 26, 1917.

> er home training, and it thereby becomes the duty of the State to conserve the home as its most valuable asset whenever factors, other than the improper guardianship of the parents, threaten its destruction.

For a considerable number of years there has been some recognition of the interdependence of home and school and of the fact that the totality of life is education. Associations of parents for coöperation with the school, the development of extension work by the school, and the attempts made to use the home and the home farm as part of the school plant for accredited school work are encouraging signs of progress. Philanthropy of the enlightened sort has for some years been seeking to place the homeless child in a home instead of in an asylum; the social settlement is designed as a demonstration of home ideals; the movements for home economics, housing reform, and the like witness to a realization of the importance of the home. Howard has ventured the hope that in the fulness of time a wiser, better family will regain some of the functions that a defective family has had to hand over to the state.

IX. THE PRECARIOUS HOME

The fact, noted by early observers, that while the American home was thoroly sound at heart it exhibited developing signs of threatening disintegration, has continued true in large measure thru the period since the War. The phenomena already outlined are evidences of this trend.

Addiction to hotel and boarding-house life, which excited so much comment in the period before the Civil War, continued to attract attention for some time. Burn alleged in 1865 that

> Boarding-house life is one of the most marked features of the American social system. . . There are numbers of married men and their wives holding good social positions, who continually reside in these establishments, and, as consequence never know the comforts which surround a quiet and well-ordered domestic hearth.

Rose in *The Great Country* expressed the opinion that "Americans do not attach the same value to home that we do," and gave as evidence "the fact that so many of them prefer living at hotels or boarding-houses, to having private residences." Zincke's *Last Winter in the United States* reported that "multitudes of families [in New York] . . . live in the hotels, and multitudes of men in business . . . do the same." Rivington and Harris's *Reminiscences in America in 1869* recorded that "hotel and boarding-house life . . . is greatly in vogue." Falk, an Australian, in his *Trans-Pacific Sketches* remarked on the "prevalence of hotel and boarding-house life, and the absence of that

'home comfort' so dear to Englishmen." Berry in *The Other Side* observed that "in the larger American cities, the plan is much in favor of families residing permanently in hotels." A non-resident American wrote in a periodical of 1881 that many American families prefer promiscuous hotel living to the privacy of family life. Day's *Life and Society in America* says that "numerous families in New York live permanently as 'boarders' in hotels." Freeman's *Impressions of the United States* in 1881 and 1882 included the observation that "many people in America really choose to live in hotels." Sir L. H. Griffin in *The Great Republic* said that "a great part of the community" has been induced "to reside in hotels." Hardy's *Between Two Oceans*, published in the same year, says of the Far West that "many a young couple starting in life, begin their united career in a hotel or boarding-house." Bates in a *Year in the Great Republic* commented on "the system of Hotel Life." Collier in the *Forum* of 1894 declared that "the proportion of Americans who could have a modest home, but who prefer the flat and stale unprofitableness of hotels and boarding-houses is, as compared with English people of the same income, vastly greater." Lutaud's *Aux États Unis* said that American custom makes many rich people prefer to live at a hotel rather than in private apartments. Bishop Potter in 1899 said: "The proportion of married people who, in cities and towns, live in hotels, is coming to be one of the most curious and grave phenomena of our modern civilization." Bourget in *Outre-Mer* remarked also on "the number of rich people who lead . . . hotel life. . . This singular moveable manner of life becomes more pronounced as one travels westward. The story goes that some cities in the far West are composed

of wooden huts, grouped around an immense hotel." Martha Bensley in *Everybody's* of 1905 said that the number of hotel-children "is unfortunately increasing." Reich in his *Success among the Nations* said: "We have often heard in America the singular remark that the Americans are attached to family life. The incredible host of boarding-houses, with which the land is eaten up, would seem but a poor proof of that statement."

The reasons assigned for this studied homelessness are much the same as for the ante-bellum period. What F. A. Walker calls "the vice of boarding" was correlated with the great social and industrial changes following 1850: manufactures, commerce, city-growth, gold discovery, increasing distinction between extremes of wealth and poverty, the reign of fashion and luxury. The rise of house rent after the War, the difficulty of the servant problem, the instability of employment, all counted against the establishment of homes. Young people marrying without means fancied that it would pay to board. Families of moderate means were enabled to make a better show on a small income, to secure better conveniences and social facilities and a better table. A gentleman of Newark was quoted by Burn as saying that "his wife had a hundred relations, and . . . he had about the same number himself, who, were he in a house of his own, would eat him up in a month, and so he found it more economical to board." By boarding, ladies could save the trouble of housekeeping. Hotel life afforded, moreover, freedom of action and excitement. Freeman in *Impressions of the United States* in 1881 and 1882 could not understand why so many people chose hotel life. "But perhaps it is a natural development of the predominant

tendency to town life. . . When a man who might live among his own fields chooses rather to live in a street, it is only going a step further to live in an hotel rather than in a house of his own." In general, urban life is unfavorable to the old-fashioned home and tends to substitute for it the hotel, flat, tenement, boarding-house, and lodging-house.

It is unnecessary to repeat in detail the catalog of evils attributed to the homeless life. Indolence, intrigue, gilded follies surrounding the feet of childhood, promiscuous associations, decay of family virtues, disruption of family ties—all these ills are laid to the charge of the "boarding" system. Burn said:

> From what I have witnessed, I have no hesitation in saying that many of these houses are hot-beds of vice and every species of immorality. In fact, the immoral tendency of the system is freely admitted by all intelligent and well-meaning men, and is acknowledged to be a serious blot on the national character.

He said further:

> An old acquaintance of mine who has been in the country about twelve years, has two married daughters, both of whom have imbibed American notions of conjugal duty and motherly affection—each has given away an infant, and each has left her husband. I have reason to believe that both these girls were ruined as wives by the habit of living in boarding-houses, when left there without domestic occupation, and like all idle people, exposed to temptations of the worst kind.

A writer in the *Nation* of 1868 declares that "the married couple who, being pecuniarily able to avoid it, deliberately and permanently 'board' in order to save trouble or expense, may be pronounced enemies of society and deserve clerical reprobation in almost equal degree with the purchaser of Indiana divorces." Day in his work of 1880 charges boarding-houses with doing the work of matrimonial bureaus. "Young people

of both sexes first become acquainted after a promiscuous fashion."

It is necessary, however, to avoid exaggerating the prevalence of the hotel and boarding-house evil. That it impressed strongly so many foreigners is evidence that there was present a peculiar phenomenon, but the indications are that its magnitude and importance were somewhat exaggerated. Mr. Towle, United States consul at Bradford, published in 1870 in London a book on *American Society* in which he maintained that no people is more domestic.

> To have a home of their own is the ambition of every youthful couple. . . It is not at all true that people prefer hotels and boarding-houses. . . American boarding-houses are mostly asylums for bachelors and maiden ladies, for widowers and widows with marriageable daughters, and for young couples who use them as a sort of purgatory, through which to pass to the traditional delight of "love in a cottage." . . At the hotel you will rarely find a well-to-do family settled down *en permanence*. To live in a hotel is hardly thought respectable. . . The newly-married pair are restless enough until a snug little habitation has been found.

Light housekeeping in apartments, however, together with the practice of taking meals at restaurants has developed to notable proportions. Day said a generation ago:

> A considerable proportion of the New York population take their meals either at restaurants or in boarding houses. This practice becomes a necessity with all but such prosperous citizens as can afford to uphold private establishments of their own. [Here again the exaggeration is obvious] . . . As most families residing in apartments have no facilities whatever for the preparation of their daily food, resort must necessarily be had to the nearest restaurant. [This method] deranges the whole system of family life, disturbing its quiet, destroying its privacy, and in no slight measure interfering with its proverbial sanctity.

Bentzon in her *Condition of Woman in the United States* declares that

> The facilities offered by the boarding-houses, clubs, and restaurants have utterly destroyed in many [American women] those qualities which we are in the habit of regarding as preëminently those of their sex. [Plans of coöperative housekeeping tend] to rest content with boarding-house and hotel-life more or less disguised. [American women take to restaurant and club life.] "It's very convenient when my husband is away. Then I breakfast here; I make appointments with my friends; I find the newspapers. There are even bedrooms for those of us who may want to come in for a day or two from the country."

Bishop Potter in 1899 wrote:

> The family circle . . . in our modern life exists, so far as it survives at all, in the attenuated dimensions of the breakfast table, to which its members, if they come at all, come in ragged and disjointed order, the other meals being eaten down town, at the club, as guest at somebody else's table, at restaurants, and the like.

Simon Patten laments that "the great middle class, once the city's pride, are rapidly becoming a homeless class, living in boarding-houses or patrons of cheap restaurants." Others point to the apartment hotels, the so-called family hotels in our cities as deadly enemies of domesticity. One critic calls them "big bold twentieth century boarding-houses." Mrs. Busbey says that fifteen thousand married people in New York live in such places "and a proportionate number in Chicago and Boston." She finds the real menace of the apartment hotel in the fact that a cheap, flimsy type is spreading in our large cities, "and that they are filled with young married people who seek in this ostentatious, showy style of living to keep up the pace of self-indulgence and the so-called social position each knew before marriage." She stigmatizes the institution as the "con-

summate flower of domestic coöperation and irresponsibility."

"Coöperative housekeeping" is a fascinating idea to many people in recent years. Sinclair's Helicon Home experiment of ten years ago is an instructive illustration. Sinclair's ideas are set forth in an article in the *Times Magazine* of January, 1907. He expressed the opinion that the general trouble with marriage (as expressed in the marital difficulties of "young radicals," at any rate) is the stagnancy of the home. There is the servant problem, and the laundry work, and the purchasing, "and so on without end." The man never sees his wife save when he is tired with business and she is bored with housekeeping. Everywhere in his own world the man is in contact with professionalism; the home is an amateur home. The servant "is generally a servant because she is not clever enough to be a factory girl, nor attractive enough to be a prostitute." If children come, the wife has to face the duty of becoming a professional mother at the cost of her life dreams and community with her husband. If the two are not acute enough to ascertain the real difficulty they will blame each other and grow weary of each other. Home would not be less home if the so-called "domestic industries" were eliminated. The solution is a hotel or boarding-house owned and operated by the guests. The "help" shall be social equals. There will be a children's building ideally equipped, which to the little ones will be heaven. Unfortunately Helicon Hall burned before the colony had had time to make a thoro experiment.

Since that ill-fated effort other schemes have been agitated; for instance, the following news item of October 22, 1913, from Lake Forest, Illinois:

> Three families have combined, rented one big flat, hired one cook and a maid apiece, instead of three and now buy their

> groceries together in wholesale lots. They claim that all the rest of Lake Forest is eager to follow the same plan and community kitchens are going to be all the rage in Lake Forest this winter. Not only is the cost of living reduced, but the cooking is better and the service fine.[157]

An item from New York, April 24, 1914, announces that the feminist alliance of that city is planning to build a modern coöperative house where the difficulties of housekeeping and the care and education of children will be entrusted to the direction of trained experts. "The real aim and purpose of the house is to enable people to have children who can not afford it now."[158] Mrs. Gilman of course advocates the whole of coöperative housekeeping, even to the extent of the "baby garden" which would take care of the child for several hours a day in a scientific manner. She believes in abolishing the kitchen with its drudgery. Suggestive in this connection is the news item of September 11, 1913, telling of the New York wife and mother who deliberately stole for the sake of being arrested and jailed as a rest from years of household drudgery, declaring: "I would rather spend twenty years in prison than twenty years as a household drudge."[159]

Mrs. Gilman reminds us that "persons who are horrified at the idea of coöperative housekeeping are unconsciously taking steps in that direction." Prepared breakfast foods are used; lunches are taken down town or at school; some families dine at a café, while others employ a servant to come in at certain hours to prepare and serve dinner. "When it becomes customary for

[157] Milwaukee *Leader* news item dated Lake Forest, Ill., Oct. 22 [1913]: "Three Families Plan to Live Coöperatively in Apartment House."

[158] Milwaukee *Leader* news item dated New York, April 24 [1914]: "Women to Build Coöperative to make Work easy."

[159] Milwaukee *Leader* news item dated New York, Sept. 11, [1913]: "Starving for Human Kindness."

the servant to make the round of bakeries and delicatessen shops before she comes, to bring with her nearly all the dinner already prepared, we shall have reached the stage . . . that has been common in Paris for some time."

The exigencies of modern business have operated in a manner distinctly unfavorable to the home. A writer in the *Monthly Religious Magazine* of 1860 said:

> The weary comes home to the weary – the care-worn meet the care-worn. The pressure upon a multitude of business and professional men is really frightful; combined with the necessity in many cases of going long distances to their places of duty, it produces little short of an absolute separation from their families, and may gradually establish a positive disrelish for domestic quiet. There are fathers in our community who are almost strangers to their own children – who do not know one half so much about them as their school-teachers. . . The appropriate work and play and worship of the home can not be so much as begun in many dwellings, and anything is caught at which promises to relieve parents from work which they can find no time to do. . . The competition of business and the ambitious pursuit of knowledge, and the general haste of the times, are restricting the sphere of the home within those quiet rural districts where time is not thought to be too valuable for unpretending home purposes.

A non-resident American, writing in the *Contemporary Review* of 1881, informed his readers that "the New Yorker is always in a hurry" – gets away as early as possible in the morning and is not seen again till evening. "His household affairs are managed by his wife." A publication of the *National Divorce Reform League* for 1893 pointed

> To the methods of business involving absence from home, the system of commercial travellers, and the operation of the industrial system as a whole, which tends to separate the household in both business and labor into its constituent individuals. These have greatly disturbed the relation of the centripetal

> and centrifugal forces of the home and society. [Such influences help to] make our civilization almost the direct foe of the home.

The harsher workings of the industrial system have all along been antagonistic to the home. The gradual attainment of the eight hour day and of the Saturday half holiday are marked improvements in this respect. Statistics of home ownership, however, afford a weighty index to the waning of the old fashioned home. In the country, farm tenancy is greatly increasing and in the city very few families own their homes. This fact is an evidence, not merely of wide-spread poverty, but also of the further fact that even if a man has means to buy a home, the uncertainty of capitalist industry renders it inadvisable for him to tie himself to a particular community.

The development of luxury, on the other hand, has exercised, as already suggested, an unfavorable influence. The previously quoted writer in the *Monthly Religious Magazine* of 1860 said that

> Sometimes a foolish ambition and selfish luxuriousness so far prevail as to prevent altogether the formation of homes, because of the unmanageable expenditures which a life of fashion or of quasi-fashion imposes. . . And too often, when the experiment of householding is tried, the energies of the experimenter are all lavished upon the external means and appliances – they "keep the house," as they say, but they can hardly be said to live in it – they have no time for that.

The comment is of general applicability to the intervening years.

The problem of household work has been an additional element in the waning of the home. Hundreds of girls become wage-earners because of their dislike for housework. "Anything else is preferable." This attitude is due in part to lack of training but also to the

crudeness of domestic equipment and processes. Catherine Selden's pointed words on the *Tyranny of the Kitchen*, written in 1893, still hold good of very many homes. She said:

> We can safely assert that no other women of the same social grade and standard of living, as those in this country, have ever had so heavy a burden laid upon them as that which is due to the variety of their undertakings and the inadequate and incompetent force at their command to achieve them.

Caroline E. MacGill declares that the modern housewife does infinitely more than her foremother "and, in spite of improvements and conveniences, at a much greater drain on her vitality." She has no one to "spell" her for even a day. Meals are vastly more elaborate; washing is more frequent and requires far more care and skill; houses are full of carpets, rugs, and trumpery, and have far more rooms.[160] What wonder that the modern housewife chafes at domesticity!

Moreover the servant-girl has long been evanescent. Industry, business, and the professions have been progressively absorbing the native supply (for girls dislike the confinement, the long hours, the social inferiority of domestic service) and the immigrant influx offers a precarious substitute. Women fail in handling the servant problem, moreover, because they still expect the servant to live in the group and share the group spirit tho she is an outsider actuated by economic interest. The number of American wives of the "better class" that have to get along without servants is noteworthy. Housekeeping comes to be done in part by machinery and the rest constitutes drudgery that must be done in a menial way pending the invention of a

[160] MacGill. "Myth of the Colonial Housewife."

machine. To work in shop or office is more stimulating than ironing, washing, cooking, cleaning, or minding the baby.

Sara L. Arnold in a 1907 article on the *Education of Girls* stresses the lack of domestic science. She says

> Many marriages are delayed . . . the thought of individual homes is abandoned . . . many homes are given up after a brief experiment because the home makers have not studied their art, and have not learned how expenditure can be adjusted to income, how non-essentials can be made subordinate to the essential and how the complex life of the family may be so administered that each member may get the best out of every day.

Perhaps the advance of training in home economics will do something to save the home. For instance there was incorporated in New York in 1906 the *Association of Practical Housekeeping Centers* with three established centers in Manhattan and one in Brooklyn. This organization began to teach by precept and example something of the art of living to all that came. A cross between a social settlement and a school, it tried to show women how to keep house and care for children. Social Settlements, too, have existed long enough for the children who came first to become fathers and mothers, and the results of the settlement work are apparent in the improved standard of the homes. Kindergarten and school mothers' clubs negotiate also a better home spirit and integrate the child's experience.

Part of the alleged deterioration of the home has been attributed to the supposed decline in the domesticity of women. In an article of 1880 on the *Transitional American Woman* Kate G. Wells declared

> Men naturally care less for the home when the wife does not first render service unto it. . . Women do not care for their

> home as they did; it is no longer the focus of all their endeavors; nor is the mother the involuntary nucleus of the adult children. . . Professional women have found that however dear the home is, they can exist without it. . . Many men refrain from marriage, fearing that the home offered by them will not be the chief delight of the wife, who will be capable of finding pleasure and occupation in other avenues of interest.

Not that woman was necessarily to blame for the change of attitude. An article by Dr. H. L. Taylor published in 1892 calls attention to the prevalence of hired service,

> The wholesale introduction of flats, which are, as a rule, cramped and poorly lighted, and to say the least, ill adapted for the rearing of children. Rooms in suites have made it possible to dispense with the kitchen and its autocrat, and the disintegration of the home is complete in boarding-house and hotels.

There has not been, indeed, any sweeping failure of due domesticity on the part of women. Consul Towle's book of 1870 declared that

> American girls are taught to perform household duties in their early teens. In some of the larger cities . . . the bachelors may complain that the young ladies are too exclusively ornamental [and that] there are no more extravagant folk living than the fashionable ladies of New York. But they are striking exceptions to the mass of American girls. . . The most aristocratic ladies . . . do not think it beneath them to be good housekeepers. . . The young wife is, therefore, already a domestic artist.

De Rousiers' *American Life*, written before 1892, asserts that "girls who wish to get married carefully show off their domestic capabilities." Münsterberg, while saying that the American girl is not fond of domestic cares, grants that the American woman takes home duties seriously and has things well in hand.

The development of public attractions has been a more important factor in reducing the charm of home.

In the *Monthly Religious Magazine* of 1861 occurs the following lament:

> Is it not a fact that the evening at home is the rare thing in some men's lives? There was something more than satire in that anecdote of the man who complained that, now he was married, he had nowhere to spend his evenings. . . [A man] goes to the street, the club, the secret meeting, oblivious of the obligation he voluntarily assumed when he became a husband and a parent – a man whose care for home is, that it have food, fuel, and shelter, and his demand of it, that it do not trouble him. Is there not many such a husband, and many such a home?

Day in *Life and Society in America* observed

> The felicity of domestic life, as we in England understand it, is almost unknown [in New York City]. The nominal heads of families, when their day's work is done, betake themselves to their comfortable clubs. . . Materfamilias receives her special visitors at home. . . [Watering-places have a harmful influence upon young America. At such places young people find sweethearts and marry.] The misery entailed by ill-assorted and imprudent alliances can scarcely be imagined. Dr. Talmadge . . . asserts that watering places are responsible for more of the domestic infelicities of America than all other things put together. Giddy wives, also, are afforded facile opportunities for questionable flirtation, which occasionally leads to grave scandal and open rupture.

A segment was obviously taken from the home when the New Yorker's family went to the country or a watering-place in May to stay till October.

Gaillardet said in his work of 1883 that after dinner the husband generally goes to spend the evening at some club. A publication of the *National Divorce Reform League* for 1893 indicates that besides the disintegrating tendencies of business and industry

> The solidarity of domestic interests is weakened by other competitions. There are the fascinations of "shopping," the waste of time over mere social "fads," and the increasing resort on

the part of women to clubs and social frivolities among themselves, for which the neglect and absence of men are in great degree responsible; and even the noble desire for honest intellectual improvement and for charitable work have made inroads upon the home.

Doctor Dike in his report of 1898 said

> The Family probably suffers more from its improper use than from any, if not all, the evils that assail its structure. The substitution of the club, the saloon, the shop, the society, the school, and even the church for the Home, and the consequent neglect of the Home, create the greatest and most subtle danger to the Home. If the Home is not encouraged to do its own work it will lose its ability to work and fall an easy prey to the specious plea for other agencies to take its place.

Henry F. Cope asserts that after three lectures on "A Man's Relations to his Woman Friends," "The Ethics of Courtship," and "The Ethics of Marriage" "many men stated that neither church, nor school, nor university had even formally attempted to direct their thinking or to aid them in their many questions on these themes."[161]

Public facilities for sexual satisfaction dilute the home life of many men. Matilda Gage quoted Doctor Talmage as saying that

> The houses of iniquity . . . are supported by the heads of families – fathers and husbands . . . and while many of them keep their families on niggardly portions . . . have their thousands for the diamonds and the wardrobe and the equipage of iniquity. . . Without the support of the heads of families, in one month the most of the haunts of sin in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, would crumble in ruin.

Gage was "not surprised that women are found who prefer the freedom and private respect accorded to a mistress, rather than the restrictions and tyranny of the marital household." It is evident, on the other hand,

[161] Cope. *Home as the School for Social Living*, 8.

that unsatisfactory marital relations and the waning attractiveness of wives past middle age induces men to irregular courses.

In the case of a very large number of men and of some women the attraction of the lodge sets up a rival to the home. Many secret orders have been founded since the Civil War. Albert C. Stevens in *The Cyclopedia of Fraternities* says that in America "there are more secret societies and a larger aggregate membership among such organizations than in all other civilized countries." He asserts that more than six million Americans are members of three hundred such organizations, which confer degrees on two hundred thousand novitiates annually. Lodge rites create a segregation between men and their wives and lodge sessions reduce the evenings at home, a serious matter in the case of such men as belong to half a dozen different orders.

Mrs. Gilman thinks that

> The best proof of man's dissatisfaction with the home is found in his universal absence from it. . . Men work outside, play outside, and cannot rest more than so long at a time. The man maintains a home, as part of his life area, but does not himself find room in it. This is legitimate enough. It should be equally true of the woman. No human life of our period can find full exercise in a home.[162]

In her opinion the home is disfigured by its maintenance of out-of-date industries, which encroach upon the education of the child. She feels that the home impresses the child only as a place for eating, cleaning and making clothes.

The revolt of personality operates to disturb the serenity of the old-style home. In 1880 Kate G. Wells declared affection for the home to be on the wane "as

[162] Gilman. *Home*, 283.

the need of individuality within it becomes more definite." The modern person can not conform to old restrictions. One obvious reason for the disposition to discard home loyalties is the exceeding conservatism of so hoary an institution and the tediousness of the task of thoroly renovating and modernizing its spirit and atmosphere. The home is always bound to the past because of the presence of the aged, who in most cases (tho in diminishing proportion) remain anchored to the past, set hard by their own sharp struggles of earlier years which left no leisure for the preservation of the open mind. If our educational system can develop the proper bent, and our industrial system can be induced to allow sufficient leisure, so that people shall come to old age with the freshness and open-mindedness of youth, a positive advantage will have been gained toward the salvage of the home.

Bourget in his *Outre-Mer* declared that "home life is less known in the United States than in any other country. A thousand signs indicate this sort of disintegration of the domestic hearth." But rumination on the crisis of domesticity as it has developed during two generations is somewhat reassuring. All along, the average American home has been relatively free from marital infidelity and in general has been better than that of any other land. Beautiful home comradeships exist. The spectacular aberrancies have not been typical and are not becoming so.

Kleiber, the "apostolic missionary" in his work published in Germany in 1877 said that the American found his greatest satisfaction in his business and in his family circle. Carnegie in his *Triumphant Democracy* quoted as a true description of the condition of the

masses of the American people who live in the villages and small towns Fiske's *American Political Ideals.* Writing of New England, Fiske had said:

> As a rule, the head of each family owns the house in which he lives and the ground on which it is built. . . Each larger proprietor attends in person to the cultivation of his own land, assisted perhaps by his sons. . . In the interior of the house there is usually no domestic service that is not performed by the mother [and] . . . the daughters.

Von Skal in *Das amerikanische Volk* said that the inner life of the American family is closed to the stranger and especially the foreigner. He contradicts the assertion that the American does not bother about his family and spends his evenings at the club. "The number of men that belong to a club is really ridiculously small. The greatest part of the American's free time belongs to his family." He adds that the man's time is more taken up in business than in other lands. Mrs. Busbey ventures "to say that in no country does the cozy home life of the bourgeoisie—the scramble intimate of children, and family pets, and elders—so thoroughly permeate its middle and upper classes as in the United States." It is well known that the interest in home ownership is very strong in many Americans and that families skimp and starve in order to buy a house. In fact, one of the strongest American traits has been a high development of domestic qualities and an intense home life which has even retarded civic ideals. Dr. L. D. Rowe has noted that "administrative efficiency has only been attained in those departments—such as the police and fire service—which directly affect the safety and integrity of the home." The fact that social interests have been so largely satisfied in the home and in a small circle of homes has kept back the development of community interests.

Whether or not the precarious home can permanently retain or regain the old solidarity is problematical. Where there are sufficient ties of common interest and spirit the answer is easy. For instance, in an article of 1892 already quoted Dr. H. L. Taylor "cannot refrain" from expressing his "admiration of the domestic life of the better class of Jews in New York, which so far as I have observed it, is in many respects more nearly what it should be than that of any class in our community." But time tends to dissever even the Jewish people. In general, blood does not make affinity and kinship does not assure friendship. The future of the home is dependent on the development of common interests along the new social lines.

Perhaps there is room for thought in the following extract from *Life*:

> The school as a civic center having become overcrowded, it occurred to some bright mind to advocate the use of the home as a civic center. The home is vacant so large a part of the day that it would seem that the highest efficiency would put it to some use other than as a possible place to sleep in after midnight. This was immediately done, and the home began to come back. Thereupon the leading sociological writer wrote an article in which he proved again to the satisfaction of all that everything has a use.

The fact is, however, that in spite of all the appearances of excessive individualism or excessive collectivism the last generation has witnessed positive progress in the direction of a better understanding and better use of the home. It is now felt that institutional herding of children is vicious. The new insight into scientific principles of industry will contribute still further to the benefit of the home. Business will act on the ideas expressed by Doctor Dike a number of years ago:

> The industrial world should see that its fundamental needs of industry, efficiency, fidelity to tasks, and loyalty to all demands

of the situation require qualifications of mind and character that depend very largely on the home behind the workman, and behind the employer of labor. The capitalists of the country are not awake as they should be to the money cost of divorce, sexual vice and immorality and to the limitations a weak home imposes on society. The prison, the almshouse, the saloon and the brothel are probably, each and all of them, due more to some defect in home life than to any other single cause. Some would put the case even stronger.

X. THE TREND AS TO MARRIAGE

The American people as a whole has retained to the present a remarkable proneness to marriage. This fact is indicated both by census returns as to conjugal condition and by special investigation of the marriage rate. The census of 1890 was the first to compile information as to marital status of the population. The census of 1910 shows that in the population fifteen years old and upwards

> There has been for both sexes a gradual advance since 1890 in the percentage of married persons and in the percentage of married, widowed, or divorced persons combined. The latter percentage rose, in the case of males, from fifty-eight and one-tenth in 1890 to fifty-nine and four-tenths in 1900 and sixty and eight tenths in 1910, while the corresponding percentages for females were sixty-eight and one-tenth, sixty-eight and six tenths, and seventy respectively. These increasing percentages are only in part, if at all, attributable to changes in the race, nativity, and parentage composition of the population, or to changes in age distribution.

Statistics of marriages were first given for the whole country in the census report of 1909 on *Marriage and Divorce* (very few states outside New England supplying more than mere numbers). The upshot of the report is that, as compared with numerous foreign countries, the population of the United States during the period 1886 to 1905 was distinctly prone to marriage. (Some allowance should be made for growth in completeness of reporting and in divorce and remarriage.)

To a considerable extent, also, the pristine usage of early marriage has continued. In the period following the war a number of foreign observers received such an impression. Von Glosz in *Das Leben in den Vereinigten Staaten* (published in 1864) says that "husbands of twenty-one, wives of sixteen, are not rare all over the union. One frequently reads of younger ones. About twenty-three and seventeen is the modal marriage." He thinks the young couples are too young to get along. De Hauranne in *Huit Mois en Amérique* (published in 1866) remarked that before men are twenty years of age, while "with us they would be looking for their course, tormenting the restive muse, or even floating in vague dreams, they are thinking of establishing themselves, taking a wife, founding on their own account a banking or mercantile house, and of quitting the temporary hospitality of the paternal roof." Rivington and Harris in their *Reminiscences of America in 1869* record the fact that "young ladies 'come out' at the age of seventeen, and marry earlier than in European countries." In 1871 Audouard wrote: "The bachelor is an exception and very much disapproved. At eighteen, twenty, or later, the Yankee marries." Sir George Campbell in his *White and Black* says: "My decided impression is that the Americans marry earlier and trust to their wits to support a family more than we do." In Bates's *Year in the Great Republic* is recorded the impression that "most women are married in America." Countess von Krockow said that "boys" and "young fellows" marry in America, whereas in Europe it is "men" who marry. "Social Europe explains enviously that American girls have so much spirit and beauty because their parents wedded young."

For most of the period covered by the foregoing opinions, opinion only is available for the whole country. The figures afforded, however, by the censuses of 1890, 1900, and 1910 show that in the age groups from fifteen to nineteen and from twenty to twenty-four the percentage of single men and women progressively decreased while the percentage married, widowed, or divorced progressively increased. For the principal population classes (native white of native parents, native white of foreign or mixed parentage, foreign-born white, and negro)

> The percentage of married, widowed, or divorced persons in the age groups fifteen to nineteen years and twenty to twenty-four years was higher, both for males and for females, in 1910 than in 1900 or 1890, except that the percentage for native white males of foreign or mixed parentage fifteen to nineteen years of age was the same in 1910 as in 1900. This would indicate that in all classes of the population a larger proportion are marrying in the earlier ages than was the case [at the time of the two earlier censuses.]

From the time of the Civil War, however (as indeed before it), the reader will encounter repeated expressions of the opinion that marriage is declining. Burn refers to the narrowing of women's matrimonial chances. In the *Nation* of 1868 is discussed the question, "Why is Single Life Becoming more General?" L. P. Brockett refers in 1869 to "the yearly increasing class of the unmarried." Catherine Beecher in 1870 said that "the more our nation has advanced in wealth and civilization, the more have the labors and the duties of the family state been shunned." Herbert Santley in *Lippincott's* of 1871 elaborates on causes of decrease of marriage. A *Forum* article of 1888 offers the general statement that marriage decreases with the age and growth of a community and declares that "even

here, notably in the great cities of the East, it is slowly but steadily decreasing." About the same time Dike expressed the opinion that in older communities the marriage rate is probably steadily declining. Kenney touched in 1893 on the "growing lateness of marriage and the increasing proportion of those who never marry." Crum in his Massachusetts study of 1896 indicates a slowly declining marriage rate. Kuczynski's study of Massachusetts from 1885 to 1897 shows that during the period the marriage rate and the proportion of married women were decreasing among the natives. The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics reported that in 1851 twenty-three persons per thousand married; in 1901 the number was only seventeen.

In so far as there has been a shrinking from marriage it may largely be correlated with the peculiar conditions of city industrialism or with the massing of the sexes in different regions. Thus the supplementary analysis of the 1900 census points out that of persons aged fifteen years and upwards the proportion of single is greater and the proportion of married is less in large cities than it is in the rest of the country.

> The general conclusion seems warranted . . . that in all parts of the United States married life in the country districts begins earlier, perhaps lasts longer before being broken by separation, divorce, or death, and if thus broken, is more likely to be succeeded by a new union than in large cities. Family life is thus the more general and dominant form of social organization in the country than in the city. . .

The same work indicates, as might be expected, that for all persons at least fifteen years of age the percentage single is somewhat greater in the North than in the South. From fifteen years upward

> At every age period the proportion of married in the South Atlantic States is greater than it is in the North Atlantic,

> and . . . the difference between the two sections is most marked during the years of early life, when the majority of children are born. In the North Central division, up to thirty-four years of age, the proportion married is less than it is in the South Central, and up to thirty years of age the difference is very marked. . . The proportion of young wives in the North is much less and in the South much greater than the average for the United States.

It is pointed out, also, "that the proportion of the sexes among adults is a factor influencing the proportion married, and where the sexes are very unequal in number . . . it is a controlling factor." Thus the ten states whose adult population contained the highest percentage of males ranked in almost the same order in respect to proportion of adult males who were single. In this connection the census of 1910 shows that of the population fifteen years of age and over

> The percentage of females who were or had been married was lower in New England than in other geographic divisions, while the proportion of males who were or had been married was lower in the Pacific and Mountain divisions than in the other divisions. It should be borne in mind in this connection that the number of males to one hundred females is much higher in the Pacific and Mountain divisions than in any other, whereas New England is the only division in which the females outnumber the males.

In correspondence with certain of the preceding considerations, the 1909 *Marriage and Divorce* report indicates that at the meeting of the centuries the average annual number of marriages as compared with adult unmarried population was highest in the South and lowest in the North Atlantic and Western sections, while the North Central region had a rate about the same as that for the continental United States as a whole.

An important factor in producing the foregoing

phenomena is the fever of ambition and luxury developed in urban life. Burn in his work of 1865 said:

> The inordinate love of finery which has prevailed of late years on both sides of the Atlantic has for some time been producing its natural consequences, that of narrowing woman's matrimonial chances. Men of prudent habits and limited means have a wholesome fear of selfish wives with expensive inflated dresses.

In the *Nation* of March 5, 1868, occurred complaint that the New England young ladies

> Are so extravagant in dress that they are unwilling to do their own housework and sewing, and what is more – don't know how, if they were willing; that they want to commence housekeeping where their fathers and mothers left off instead of where they began; that they will not marry any man unless he is rich.

But the question was also raised:

> Does he give her a chance to show whether she will marry a poor man and commence housekeeping humbly; is he willing to marry a poor girl who will not better either his purse or his social position; how is it if he can't afford a wife, that he can afford cigars and velvet coats, champagne suppers and summer tours. . .?[163]

L. P. Brockett writing in 1869 on *Woman* said that many men did not seek to marry – young women were so extravagant; a large proportion of city young women wanted ease, luxury, and a social position superior to that of their rivals.

Catherine E. Beecher in *Woman's Profession* said that "many virtuous young men are withheld" from the family state by "the incompetence and the extravagant habits and tastes of those they would otherwise seek for wives" and that "another large class shun the toil, self-denial, and trials of married life, and prefer their ease

[163] "Why is single Life Becoming more General": in the *Nation*, vol. vi, 190-191.

and the many other enjoyments wealth will secure." A writer of the next year suggests that the opening sphere for woman's talents is rendering marriage less popular with women; they are reluctant to marry a poor man; education inclines toward celibacy rather than marriage with poverty; other causes of decrease of marriage are distorted views of life, extravagance, defective training of women, and moral cowardice. The ideal is "success." Luxury and corruption intrude. Women are ignorant of motherhood.[164]

Kenney pointed out in 1893 that the standard of life made it difficult to maintain a family. Bourget's impressions of the same year are to the effect that marriage brings a girl responsibilities, reduced opportunity for amusement, and no accession of freedom; "therefore, more often than not, she will marry late." Lutaud in *Aux États Unis* said that girls hardly married before twenty-five. The girl stays at home till she finds a husband capable of supplying her needs. "Besides life passes so quickly and so agreeably amid the pleasures of the world when one has neither the cares of a house nor the burdens of maternity." Bentzon severely blamed "the systematic scorn of marriage which comes to many young Americans who are ambitious to be somebody, to do something."

The effect of city life in obstructing marriage is more marked in the case of women than in that of men. This discrepancy is attributable partly to the fact that females form a larger proportion of the population in urban than in rural communities. Female labor, however, for which there are wider facilities in the city, operates in several ways as a bar to marriage.

A somewhat intensive study of the effects upon mar-

[164] Santley. "Marriage," 397-402.

riage from woman's access to industry results in the following conclusions: 1. Woman's access to industry lowers the wage scale and makes it harder for men to assume the burdens of matrimony. 2. Industrial opportunity makes women independent of the necessity of marriage. 3. Employment in specialized industry tends to create distaste for housekeeping and so may be a factor in checking marriage. 4. The experience of wage-earning may raise a girl's standard of living so that she will hesitate to marry an ordinary man. 5. Experience in the world brings her in touch with the vice and disease prevalent among men and may cause fear of marriage. 6. Delay of marriage may lead to an irregular sex life, which is very likely to prevent marriage altogether. 7. Women are crowding particularly into professional and other high positions where ambition makes the current against matrimony strongest.

There are, however, some things to be said on the other side. Most of the evils suggested are incidental and some of them, perhaps, imaginary. The average girl goes to work only as a temporary makeshift. Comparatively few young women lose their desire for a husband by having a taste of the joys of the industrial world. Moreover while industrial opportunity makes the girl independent of marriage it also remains as a resource on which she can fall back if the marriage proves unsuccessful or if her husband dies. It is not as if when she married she left all hope behind. Again, a girl may, by wage-earning, raise her standards of life so that she will not marry a man that might have been quite satisfactory under other circumstances. But she may by that very rise reach the society of men of higher standing and thus secure a better marriage, economical-

ly speaking, than she could otherwise have done. As for the argument that industry unsettles the moral standards and often leads to vice, we can find on the other side the argument that industry disciplines the moral nature. It is not well to overemphasize the tendency to voluntary prostitution; or to underestimate the strength of woman's virtue even in unusual and trying circumstances. In some quarters one even finds evidence that seems to show that woman's access to industry encourages marriage. When a girl's earnings added to those of a boy seem sufficient for housekeeping, marriage may occur earlier than if the girl were of no economic value outside the home. A writer in the *Forum* suggests that since women have gained independent livelihoods, men marry rashly. Their consciences, presumably, will allow them to desert their wives if they know the women can support themselves and children. Again it may be said that young men are coming to prefer a girl that has shown her independent ability. I think, however, we can not consider the taste by any means settled in that respect. At all events women married more freely, according to the census of 1910, than according to the two preceding

While the arguments on both sides present a rather confusing array, still I think we can safely conclude that woman's access to industry does to some extent interfere with marriage, especially tending to delay it. This is due however, not to the increased opportunities of woman, but to the disturbing effect that her advent has on the industrial system, and particularly on wages, together with other defects of our present system of industry. It is safe to say that if society wishes it can find a way to obviate these difficulties, and even allow

woman greater opportunities than at present, without injuring marriage and the home.

Education has been held responsible for indisposition to marry, but indications are that as in the case of college women so with college men the charge is unfounded.[165] The uncertainty of economic footing, however, has led many men to refrain from marriage. In 1913 the Equitable Life Assurance Society published a bulletin calling attention to the presence of eight million unmarried men twenty years old and over and nine million unmarried women over fifteen years of age. Over seven million of the men were between twenty and forty-four.

> It is safe to say that five million of these single men are capable of assuming the responsibilities of married life. The majority of these men have a wholesome respect and reverence for the married state, and many of them will enter it, but there is an enormous number of men who lack the moral fiber and courage to marry and take a man's part in human affairs. [Thus young men practice selfishness, extravagance, and vice while young women toil in industry and business.]

Some light is thrown by the fact that immediately after Ford introduced his new wage scheme a considerable proportion of the employees affected married without delay. It is not merely absolute poverty, however, that is responsible for celibacy. The standard of living has been rising; the wife's services in the home have been shrinking in economic value; childhood involves greater expense in prolonged school attendance and medical care; restriction on the employment of women and children complicates the problem. In the father's day a family was an asset; now it is a liability. Hagar

[165] Compare Engelman, "Education not the Cause of Race Decline," 173-174.

believes that if far greater obligations are imposed on man in marriage, "he will eschew marriage, or if already in its bonds, he will do his best to escape them." There is, of course, a definite correlation between marriage and prosperity. The 1909 report on marriage and divorce says that the deficiency of marriage in hard times "suggests a loss to the community not ordinarily thought of in considering the periods of financial depression."

Something of the attitude of business and society in this matter of marriage may be gathered from the refusal in certain places to employ married women in the schools and from such a notice as that posted by a Chicago bank:

> Employees . . . receiving a salary of less than one thousand dollars a year must not marry without first consulting the bank officials and obtaining their approval. . . It is nonsense for a man to attempt to care for a wife and family with an annual income of one thousand dollars. We would feel ourselves partly responsible for any misery which might follow if we approved.[166]

The depressing effect of economic stringency upon marriage is, of course, largely a matter of social class, affecting chiefly such as aspire to improve, or at least hold, the standard of living. Kuczynski's study of Massachusetts from 1885 to 1897 shows that the marriage rate among the natives is much smaller than among the foreign born for all ages up to forty-five; the proportion of persons married among the natives is much smaller than among the foreign born, and the difference is particularly great at the most fruitful periods of life. During the period, while the marriage-rate and the proportion of married women were

[166] *Arena* (1905), vol. xxxiv, 589.

decreasing among the natives, they were increasing among the foreigners.[167] The United States census of 1910 indicates a higher percentage of single men and single women (fifteen years old and over) among native whites than among foreign-born whites or among negroes. Native whites of foreign or mixed parentage show an extremely high percentage, largely because they marry late – phenomena explicable by the fact that they are subject to the extreme effects of the novelty of opportunity.

One element, partly cause and partly effect of the disturbance of the matrimonial habit, has been the development of prostitution. A *Nation* article of 1867 on the *Social Evil and its Remedy* cites an official's estimate that there are over two thousand five hundred public prostitutes in New York City but another authority "more familiar it may be presumed with the facts, because personally concerned with the interests of the traffic" estimated the number of inmates of "parlor houses" and "bar houses" alone at four thousand six hundred; the "street-walkers" were set down at six thousand, and the total of criminal women at not less than twelve thousand. The writer of the article favored registration. Another article in the same periodical the same year regrets that Christian women wear suggestive clothes on the street and says that extravagance and love of display hinder early marriage, hence men seek illicit gratification. Catherine Beecher in her *Woman's Profession* called attention to a class of men withheld from the family state by "guilty courses that destroy the hope of family love and purity." A *Forum* article of 1888 says that in a big city "men's matrimonial discouragements and bachelor

[167] Bushee. "Declining Birth-rate and its Causes," 355-356.

compensations are many;" they can have more pleasures outside marriage; they are almost chartered libertines, so lax is sentiment. Kenney in his work of 1893 says that "society tolerates sexual promiscuity on the part of the male in this country as it has not done before. . . The moral tone of both England and America in regard to the chastity of men and women is lower than it was from thirty to fifty years ago." He says that

> A few years past a Hebrew prostitute was a curiosity, in America at least; now such misguided and irretrievably ruined Jewesses are to be found in every large city. The Jewish young men are said upon good authority to be often more wanton and lustful than their other fellow sinners of different race.

Edwin O. Buxton declared in the same year that the social evil was flourishing in all our great cities unmolested and that thousands of young men and women were borne to untimely graves by this evil. Moreover, though it was said that brothels are necessary for the protection of virtue, "the weekly record of assaults upon defenseless women and little girls causes a blush of shame to mantle the face of every true citizen." Crum in his study of the Massachusetts birth-rate from 1850 to 1890 said that illegitimacy had gradually increased (tho perhaps part of the seeming growth was due to closer registration) and suggested that the phenomenon might be connected with the slowly declining marriage-rate. It requires no elaboration of recent conditions to indicate that the furtherance of early marriage and the elimination of prostitution are matters that belong together.

The facilities that the city affords for comfortable celibacy of both sexes encourages abstinence from mar-

riage. The richness of interest present in modern life delays or prevents marriage; the cultivated classes exhibit a bent toward celibacy, a tendency not confined to college graduates. Both sexes, moreover, are less inclined to regard marriage as a duty than of old. This change of sentiment is natural enough in view of the lessened need of population and the reduction of the death-rate. It is of importance to remember nevertheless the indications that married men live longer by reason of their more regular lives and that women, even, seem to gain longevity by marriage. Professor Willcox's studies (covering New York State with the exception of New York City and Buffalo) show that for every ten-year age group from thirty up the death-rate of unmarried women is notably greater than of married. Furthermore, society has not yet provided comfortable old age for persons incapable of self-support and without children. Betts says: "The saddest figure in tenement house life is the unmarried woman who can no longer work and is dependent."

As suggested in the foregoing pages, economic marriage has been something of a factor in the formation of the American family since the War, as indeed before it. The trend, however, has been conflicting. Von Glosz declared in 1864 that money directs the choice in the majority of marriages. De Hauranne, however, at the same time said that girls must be attractive for

> No one marries them save from inclination. . . The suitor does not ask about the dowry, and he is not supposed to inform himself about the inheritance. The father, if he is rich, sometimes makes his daughter a present that is worth a fortune; but he is under no obligation so to do, and between him and his son-in-law it is not a question. . . The man does not marry until he has acquired a fortune sufficient for the support of a family. The woman counts, waits patiently, or profits by a better chance. It is she that calculates and rea-

> sons. . . A European title, tho old and ruined, still has a chance to find a wife in America.

Another writer of about the same period asserted that parents do not try to impose upon their daughter an old millionaire.

> Economic marriages are unknown in America. These men, so greedy for gold, nevertheless marry according to their heart; they marry the woman and not the fortune; generally the girls receive no dowry. . . If two young people are in love, and neither has any fortune, that does not keep them from marrying. The young woman looks for work, the young man likewise; and the new establishment will go very well, for happiness will be complete.

L. P. Brockett, however, in 1869 refers to the young girl's becoming a fortune hunter.

Kleiber stated in his work of 1877 that "the Yankee as a rule gives his children no dowry, and if he is approached in that regard asks whether the man wants to marry his daughter or his property." Day's work of 1880 informs us that

> American damsels . . . will not marry you, save upon the cold, careful consideration of how you stand with your banker. . . The New York belle . . . naturally looks forward to the acquisition of a husband. . . She courts calmly and coldly. . . She takes quite a business view of the marital relationship.

Bourget's impressions of the early nineties were to the effect that a girl "only half counts on the generosity of her father, who is not obliged to dower her;" but at the same time Kenney thought he detected a tendency toward the European *dot* system. Matilda Gage wrote in 1893: "Money still leads parents to prefer one suitor above another, even in the United States." Von Unruh in his work of 1904 said:

> The Americans are not accustomed to give their daughters either furnishings or dowry. Whoever wants to marry must

> be in a position to offer his wife house and support. . . The daughter never becomes merchandise, and her own decision is always the chief consideration.

The upshot of the matter would seem to be that while the normal American tendency has been to subordinate economic considerations to personal attraction in selection of husband or wife, the rise of artificial standards has tended to restore the measures of the older civilization. Immigration, also, introduces European ways. Among the foreign population in the large cities "no dowry no husband" is a strenuous fiat. Nearly every East Side girl tries to save money for a dowry, even working overtime in order to swell the amount. In most cases the youth does not begin courting till he has satisfied himself as to the amount of the girl's savings. When, after marriage, this money is spent, or if it turns out to be less than expected, a life of quarrels perhaps follows, or the man deserts the wife.[168]

Considerable discontent with the institution of marriage as it now exists has been present since before the Civil War. Dr. T. L. Nichols in his *Forty Years of American Life* (published in London in 1864) told of the prevalence of "free love" doctrine in the North.

> The only ground of interference was the right of society to protect itself from burdens that might be thrown upon it. . . What should be done was simply to abolish all laws upon the subject, and pass one, if found necessary, to define and protect the rights of children.

Henry James wrote to the *Nation* in 1870:

> There is on every hand a widespread criticism of marriage as at present administered since very many persons regard it as far too loosely administered, and very many others as far too strictly administered.

[168] Busbey. *Home Life in America*, 90.

He himself was quoted as saying that society interested itself only in what it got from marriage, caring only for the objective ends and indifferent as to the spirit. Any lout could vent his egotism by marrying. Being told by society that his wife was his property, what wonder if he exacted the extreme penalty for unfaithfulness! Mr. James would cease to enforce marriage in any merely civic interest. The *Nation* replies that most of the peculiar views about marriage have been reached by ignoring the sex passion and partly by overlooking the production of children as proper object or ordinary result of marriage. If marriage is merely an agreement of two friends of opposite sex to live together and share expenses by reason of sentimental attachment, society has no right to try to make the friendship perpetual. But the first object of marriage is still to regulate the sex passion and inconstancy is the mark of the beast. Moreover marriage must be made permanent for the sake of the children and of the wife who wears herself out; the tendency among the poor to wife and family desertion is more mischievous than the tendency to patriarchal despostism.

Mr. James declared that his whole object was to show that marriage had become

> The hotbed of fraud, adultery, and cruelty . . . and the parent consequently of our existing lasciviousness and prostitution, only by being so persistently administered not primarily in the interest of its own purity, but in that of our established civic order.

Mr. James took the position that the utilitarian view of the institution was played out and that it was necessary either to

> Come to regard marriage as a finality – i.e. as existing solely in its own right – or else expect the hideous carnival of crime

in which, so far as sexual relations are concerned, we are now festering, to prolong itself eternally.[169]

Henry Edger a few years later declared that marriage becomes for many only a legalized prostitution.[170] In 1895 B. O. Flower wrote incisively on *Prostitution within the Marriage Bond*, pointing out that girls have it bred into them that their sexuality is a means of livelihood, husbands make excessive use of "marital rights," and the laws do not recognize the right of the wife to her body. His indictment largely holds even to the present day. Many still see in marriage as a property institution a form of legalized prostitution, a bargain "between lust and avarice" in which the children are mere accidents. The case for free love has not yet been closed.

Considerations such as the foregoing have tended to lighten the esteem of marriage. Burn in his work of 1865 considered the matrimonial tie in America to be comparatively loose. Many wives in the lower strata had made up their minds to do as they please.

> But here again a distinction must be drawn between the natives and the immigrants. I have reason to believe that the real American women make by far the best wives and mothers. [Incompatibility leads many young couples to split.] Then *halves* of disappointed beings are to be met in every direction, and if one of these ladies should have the misfortune to become a mother, ten to one but she will relieve herself of the responsibility by transferring the child to a stranger for adoption. [As American women's charms fade early, fast ladies try to make the most of life while it lasts.] I have known several second-hand wives who were sailing under the black flag of widowhood, and fishing for other experimental partners. The peculiar notions of personal independence, indulged in by the women's rights ladies in America, has been the means of

[169] See "Henry James on Marriage": in the *Nation*, vol. x, 366-368.

[170] Edger. "Prostitution and the International Woman's League," 405.

placing a great portion of the fabric of female society in a false position.

De Hauranne at the same time spoke of the "remarkable facilities" that "legal chaos gives for bigamy, and the great number of double, triple and quadruple marriages discovered each year by female jealousy." Rose said that in America "there is a very light impression as to the obligation of the marriage tie." A *Nation* article of 1869 expresses the opinion that now that marriage yearly becomes more like an ordinary civil contract voidable on consent of the parties, "children who should accustom themselves to jeer at the 'sacredness' of the relation ought not to be dealt with too severely." [171]

Sir L. H. Griffin in his work of 1884 attributes to immigration and the rapid development of the country a solvent effect upon social institutions, including marriage. Dike, treating of *Perils of the Family* expressed the belief that

> There is . . . an undoubted increase in cities, and probably elsewhere, of those who deliberately forsake marriage for illicit relations. . . There is . . . reason to think that heedless marriages, a decrease in the whole number of marriages and of children, with an increase in illegitimate births, and a great increase in the various offences against chastity, have accompanied the increase of divorces.

In his 1887 report as corresponding secretary of the *National Divorce Reform League* he calls attention to

> The uncertain marital relations of some immigrants from countries where illicit unions take the place of lawful marriage to a serious extent, and where illegitimate births for the whole country are from eight and ten to almost fifteen per cent of the whole number of births . . . and where in certain localities and among certain classes, especially servants, who are

[171] "Decay of the Family Affections": in the *Nation*, vol. viii, 291-292.

> a large part of the emigrants, unchastity must exist among a very large proportion. [The report goes on to speak of another evil], one among our own people, both of foreign and so-called native stock. The instances of persons moving from place to place who are ostensibly married but who are really living in violation of legal marriage, are somewhat numerous – far more so than those of us who have never looked into the subject think. There are three classes of these: operatives mostly of foreign birth in some large manufacturing towns; a few persons in isolated country districts where public opinion is not strong; and persons of some means who desert their legal wives or husbands and enter into illicit relations in places where their true history is unknown. There is strong reason to think evils of this sort affect far larger numbers than those due to conflicting divorce and marriage laws.

Doctor Dike's 1898 report said

> Complaint is not infrequently made that our great cities and manufacturing centers are constantly receiving from England and elsewhere immigrants who come to us and contract marriages with innocent women and young girls, having deserted a wife and children in the old country for this very purpose. . . Bigamy is probably more easily practised, perhaps more frequently, than in any other civilized country.

Howard has expressed the opinion that our Gretna Greens are more dangerous than our divorce colonies and declared the need of a trained civil officer for the special business of celebrating marriage. On the whole, however, American marriage has been on a higher plane than European. It has been freer from the mercenary interest and hence has left more room for the strictly human element – the mutual satisfaction of the parties. The demand for sound character has been stronger, too, than some would have us believe.

Something of the vivacity of American marriage negotiations may be gathered from the comments of various writers. Burn found in the advertisement columns "young gentlemen of attractive persons, agree-

able manners, amiable dispositions, and independent means, inviting young ladies to hymeneal partnerships." The ladies seemed to him "generally pretty 'smart'" but many were victimized out of their money by such rogues. De Hauranne thought that the search for a husband required "more futile frippery and show than of culture and earnest worth." The extravagant apparel of the "wise little fools" recalled that of the "gay women" of France. Girls fished "not for the mere pleasure but for the benefit;" they ignored unlikely and difficult catches. Engagements lasted one, two, three years, were broken and resumed. Maidens "do not hesitate to abandon one bird in the hand for two in the bush." Another writer of about the same period says that a young man may call on a girl without having been presented to her parents; parents leave their daughter free to choose. Kleiber says in his work of 1877 that children often marry without the parents' knowledge.

Bates's *Year in the Great Republic* says that for an American woman to be unmarried is exceptional "but rather distinguished than otherwise, certainly not a plea for pity as with us." She says that the larger freedom of intercourse between the sexes and the comparative obsence of ill-natured "outside comment" simplifies affairs and gives men and women a better chance to know something of each other before marriage. The advantages of marriage are not conceived to belong exclusively to women, hence men take more pains to be agreeable; "it is a question of supply and demand." Mothers can afford to be generous toward other women's daughters where men are so numerous.

De Rousiers' work on *American Life* (translated in 1892) considers American marriage as a more serious

affair than marriage in France. Prudent persons take great precautions; breach of promise suits hedge the way. Bourget's impressions formed in 1893 record the apotheosis of the young girl and her frequent frivolity. Girls have been engaged to men whom they had no intention of marrying; they liked them as lovers. When the maiden finally is ready for marriage she wants a husband that will replace her parents' indulgence and providence. Dugard at the same time believed that the young American girl will rarely consent to marry a man that does not inspire real affection tested by prolonged intimacy and that there would seem to be more chance of happiness than in the European marriages where the husband is after the dowry and the girl is after freedom and only half attaches herself to her husband whom chance and speculation have given her but keeps for her children the best of her love.

Von Skal in his work of 1907 speaks of the extreme freedom of young people in the choice of partners. Engagements and weddings take place without parents' previous knowledge. This custom, he says, is not due to lack of fondness and confidence but the American claims the right to manage his own affairs and allows others the same privilege. There is calculation preliminary to marriage, especially on the part of the woman; but ill-considered marriages occur.

The details of marriage law may be studied in Howard's treatise. It is clear that there is need of better advised legislation for the closer guarding of the entrance to marriage. More care is required in the authorization of celebrants. It is not so long since certain clergymen made the performance of marriage a trade. The corresponding secretary of the National

Divorce Reform League referred in 1886 to the report, "apparently well-founded" that "some clergymen . . . have their runners at the ferries distributing bills and diagrams of the streets leading to their houses and hunting for couples with the diligence of the bunco-steerer." It is to be feared that such men have not been entirely eliminated, tho their end is in sight. The performance of marriage by unfit civil officers, however, is still a reprehensible feature of American practice.

It is only within the past generation that positive progress of a constructive sort has been made in the law regulating the performance of marriage. Up till thirty years ago the principal change of a half century in family law had been in the matter of property rights. The legal protection of property was superior to that of the family. In many states marriage was legal without writing, witness, or official. Many states had no decent system of records. Even where licenses were required they were often a mere formality. Doctor Dike declared in 1887 that "if the condition of public law be an indication of social conditions . . . I do not believe there is any considerable civilized people in the world that is taking so great risks with the family as we are in these United States." At that time in most states a man could carry off a girl by night and if they agreed to be husband and wife they became so by law. In 1877 the Supreme Court of the United States had decreed that unless a statute expressly invalidated marriages not celebrated in accordance with it, the common law privilege continued. Frank G. Cook in the *Atlantic* of 1888 said:

> What wonder . . . that the disregard of the legislative recommendation and advice is constantly increasing, and the

> evil of clandestine marriage and secret unions by destroying the integrity of the family is sapping the foundation of society! Can the court deny an easy termination to the relation to which they permit so easy an entrance?

Since that time, however, there has been much improvement in marriage law.

Certain legislation is cited in the 1889 report of the United States Commissioner of Labor as designed to encourage marriage. The laws of Georgia and Pennsylvania announced this purpose. In California conditions and contracts in restraint of marriage of adults were void; likewise in Dakota. In thirteen states marriage of parents legitimized children and in twenty-four states such marriage together with acknowledgment by father produced legitimacy. In sixteen states penalty or prosecution for seduction was suspended by marriage.

The last generation has witnessed the outlawry of Mormon polygamy. Serious opposition to the practice began in the early eighties with the passing of special laws; thousands of Mormons were imprisoned and millions of dollars were collected as fines. The Mormons used every legal means in their defence but lost in the Supreme Court and finally surrendered. In 1890 President Woodruff published an ordinance forbidding further polygamous marriage.

The civil law conception of the marriage relation is still mechanical and unworthy.

> If a man promises to marry a woman and the woman promises to marry the man, a civil contract has been entered into, and so long as they are both competent to contract and there has been no fraud, it does not make a particle of difference what their motive was – money, marbles, or jackstraws – a valid contract has been entered into, a contract which, if either party back out, can be cashed in before a judge and jury. We talk

> of the "sacredness of marriage," of "marriage sanctified by love," but in the making of the marriage contract love is not an essential. There need be no higher motive than that which enters into a horse deal. This is the cold, bleak policy of the law of the state of New York, established by a leading decision.

So writes attorney Martin Littleton in a recent issue of the New York *Times*. He completes his indictment of the existing situation by saying:

> The church and the state, society and the community, should sternly set themselves against such bargaining in the name of such a sacred institution. If people come into court and show no more than that their designs to get money have been disappointed and their desires to capture fortunes from old age, mental incapacity, or other unnatural alliance, have failed, the law should leave them in the midst of their disappointment and consign them to the ignominy of their failure.[172]

Equally unworthy is the snobbish conception of the proprieties of marriage which pseudo-aristocracy would foist upon us. Matilda Gage in her work of 1893 illustrated aptly this phase of degeneracy:

> It is but a few years since a cavalry officer in Washington was courtmartialed, found guilty, and sentenced to dismissal from the army on charge of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, because of his legally marrying a woman with whom he had been living unmarried. . . While living in illicit relation with the woman, he was regarded as an officer and a gentleman.

In connection with the study of the divorce situation it will be necessary to consider further what adjustments are necessary in the law of marriage. Clearly while present standards endure there is point to the Socialist reflection that "given a system that sustains millionaires and winsome women tired of the drudgery of life, and a church willing to sanctify . . . an unnatural contract . . . it is rather hypocritical to

[172] *Weekly People* (New York), July 7, 1917, p. 2.

accuse Socialists of wishing to break down the marriage ties. . ."[173] The fact is that our marriage institutions are largely a composite of Hebraism, Roman law, and Teutonic standards incorporated by the medieval church into its control of marriage.

> Today these varied reminiscences of our past mixed inheritance give us disagreements even in the fundamentals of ethical ideals in marriage; and often the friction that we develop in discussion dates back to our composite union of national ideals in the melting pot of early Christianity.[174]

[173] *Weekly People* (New York), July 7, 1917, p. 2.

[174] Spencer. "Problems of Marriage and Divorce": in the *Forum*, vol. xlviii, 190-192.

XI. RACE STERILITY AND RACE SUICIDE

For the period since the Civil War, material on the voluntary and involuntary phases of infecundity is extremely abundant. All along, the reduction in natural increase of population has excited comment and alarm.

Bonett, who was in America in 1864, said that "if the population of the United States were left to the natural increase of the pure American blood, the census would never justify the confident expectations of the people as to their marvellous numerical growth." Burn thought the conclusion seemed inevitable "that America, if left to sustain her own population without immigrants, would prove, in less than a hundred years, how unfit she is to obey one of the first laws of nature." Just at the close of the war, Dr. Nathan Allen before the Social Science Association at Boston "declared the decline of productiveness amongst native New Englanders to be an undoubted fact [and] showed that the average size of families had decreased generation after generation ever since the settlement of the country." Dixon in his *White Conquest* asserted that the birth-rate in America is declining from year to year and in every state. The rate was lower in 1820 than in 1800, still lower in 1840, lower yet in 1860. In spite of the higher rate of immigrants the average rate is lower than that of any European country, "not excepting the birth-rate of France in the worst days of Louis Napoleon." In *L'Aristocratie en Amérique*, Gaillardet said that "the original population, especially in the Eastern

States, tends to disappear, and the place it leaves vacant is taken by the newcomers from Europe, or by their immediate descendants." In Griffin's *Great Republic* the Reverend S. W. Dike is quoted on "the diminishing size of the New England family of so-called native stock." He says that "the reported number of children of school age in Vermont and New Hampshire is scarcely three-fourths as large as it was thirty years ago."

In his *Perils to the Family* Dike expresses serious concern at declining fecundity especially in the "so-called native stock." He says that in Massachusetts, foreign mothers average fifty per cent more children than native mothers; that allowing even for greater death-rate the foreign parent is ahead in adding to population; that notwithstanding the presence of the foreign elements the birth-rate in some of the older states is lower than in most European countries and is steadily falling. He points out that Massachusetts has a lower rate than any European country save France; France is alarmed, Massachusetts is indifferent, for she can recruit her population from Ireland and Canada. Other states, thought Doctor Dike, are doubtless as badly off.

During the decade 1880-1890 immigration totalled five and a quarter million; yet population increased more slowly than in any preceding period unless possibly that of the Civil War. William Potts in the *Nation* of 1891 says that "in the majority of families which have experienced several generations of comparative ease and culture, the numbers become stationary, then decline, and finally the families themselves, so far as public knowledge goes, become extinct." The vital statistics of Michigan for 1894 take up in a scientific

way the subject of stationary population. Dr. C. L. Wilbur showed that there had been a great decline in the number of children per mother (from three and six-tenths to three in twenty years, as noted by quinquennia, for the native mother, and from five and eight-tenths to five and one-tenth for the foreign mother). Wilbur concludes that it is hard to tell whether the native population has ceased to increase, is actually decreasing, or is increasing at a very low rate. Crum's study of the *Birth-rate in Massachusetts, 1850-90*, indicates a birth-rate of ninety per thousand women between fifteen and fifty at the end of the period instead of one hundred at the beginning. In the early years of the new century, New England was compared with France as having "a native population that is actually decreasing, destined, if present conditions continue, to be exterminated."

A *Popular Science* article of 1905 on the "Proportion of Children in the United States" shows that the proportion of children to women of child-bearing age has decreased steadily since 1860. In 1860 the number of children under five years per thousand women between fifteen and forty-nine was six hundred thirty-four, in 1900, four hundred seventy-four (in case of native women, four hundred sixty-two; foreign, seven hundred ten). A 1909 article by F. L. Hoffman cites an original investigation into the fact of American ancestry, "according to which the average number of children has diminished from nearly seven during the first half of the eighteenth century, to nearly five during the first half of the nineteenth century, and to less than three during the last half of the nineteenth century." A census taken some years since of twenty-two apartment houses containing four hundred eighty-five families

showed fifty-four children. Professor Willcox on one occasion warned the country that if existing tendencies continued there would be no birth-rate in the United States in the year 2000.

A glance back over the nineteenth century gives an indication of the extent of shrinkage in the American family. In 1790, five persons was the modal family; in 1900, three persons. Within the area of 1790 there were in 1900 twice as many families as in 1790 consisting of two persons, and barely half as many of seven and up; New England showing the greatest decline. In 1790 families with less than five members were about one-third of the total number; in 1900, more than half. The old South of 1790, with almost no foreign immigration, maintained a rate of increase at least approximating that reached by other sections through native and foreign stock combined. The decline in the proportion of children between 1860 and 1900 was markedly less in the South than in the North and West, but in the later decades the West followed New England in having a progressively smaller proportion of children.

The fact of the matter is that infecundity occasioned in some manner by the high voltage of modern civilization has kept persistently in the wake of the American pioneer. Doctor Ross has tersely summarized the trend by pointing out that the census of 1830 showed that the proportion of children under five years in the states west of the Alleghanies was a third to a half greater than in the seaboard region, the proportion of children to women of child-bearing age, from fifty to a hundred per cent greater. In 1840, children were forty per cent more numerous "among the Yankees of the Western Reserve than among their kinsmen in Connec-

ticut." The next half century marred the fecundity of the Ohio valley, but "their sons and daughters who had pushed on into Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota showed families a fifth larger. In 1900 the people of the agricultural frontier—Texas, Oklahoma, and the Dakotas—had a proportion of children larger by twenty-eight per cent than that of the population between Pittsburgh and Omaha." [175]

The census of 1910 shows that the number of persons in a household has decreased from five and one-tenth in 1870 to four and five-tenths in 1910—each intervening census indicating a continual decline. (The figures for free population in 1850 and 1860 were respectively five and six-tenths and five and three-tenths.) Some of these "family" groups consisted of a single person living alone; others were hotels or institutions. But the number of "economic families" is not large enough materially to affect the average size of all families. The census says:

> It is a fair assumption that the changes in the average size of families from census to census as well as the difference in this respect between the geographic divisions and states are due almost entirely to differences in the size of private families, and more particularly to the number of children in the natural families.

It is understood that not all the members of the "natural" family may be members of the same census family or household, while the census "private" family may include servants.

When attempting to appraise the status of the American birth-rate it is of course necessary to remember the defective condition of our statistics. The gravity of the situation with respect to lowered birth-rate is exaggerated by faulty reporting. Thus the Chicago

[175] Ross. "Origins of the American People," 716-718.

school census for 1904 showed 146,417 children of three years and under altho the total number of births reported for a comparative three years preceding the census was 84,422.[176]

In general, explanations of the decline in American fecundity fall into two classes. Part of the falling off in rate of increase has been attributed to physical degeneration – the frailty of woman, intellectualism, and the spread of venereal disease; part to voluntary measures for restriction of the size of family.

Burn was impressed by the poor physique of American women – a phenomenon considerably elaborated in the preceding volume. He says that many American women are "as flat across the chest as deal boards." Many lose their teeth at an early age and "their hair, too, seems subject to a similar destroying agency. . . Generally speaking, American women are all 'scrags' before the term of middle life." Rose at about the same time remarked the short duration of woman's beauty. Just at the close of the war, Dr. Nathan Allen ascribed the falling off of productiveness among native New Englanders "partly to the bad health of the women." Dixon in his *White Conquest* cited Catherine Beecher as "unable to recall ten married ladies in this century and country who are perfectly sound, healthy, and vigorous. Returns show only one woman in ten physically fit for wifehood and motherhood." Cowley in *Our Divorce Courts* quoted the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* for 1875 as asserting that the past century witnessed a decided change in the female constitution in New England: there was formerly more muscle, larger frame, greater fulness of form,

[176] Bodine. "Is there Danger of Race Extinction?"

less predominance of brain, and less nervous strain. Such considerations suggested that elucidation of the problem of threatened racial extinction "must be sought for in the constitution, the habits, the education, or the lack of physical education of the infertile classes"—no adequate explanation being offered by any special law of infecundity, or by abortion. Cowley quoted Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* to the effect that since colonial times "every successive mother has transmitted to her child a fainter bloom, a more delicate and briefer beauty, and a slighter physical frame, if not a character of less force and solidity than her own." He cited Dr. Nathan Allen of Lowell to the effect that urbanization is unfavorable to physical stamina. Moreover girls were kept hard at school work from six to sixteen with little exercise. Female diseases had increased wonderfully within twenty or thirty years; they had frequently been produced, certainly aggravated, by expedients used against propagation.

Ratzel in 1880 said that in the United States "early fading of woman is much more frequent than with us." Sir L. H. Griffin in his *Great Republic* quoted Dr. S. Weir Mitchell as declaring that the American woman is physically unfit for woman's duties. He cited also Doctor Allen of Rhode Island as saying that the strictly native New England women have undergone surprising physical deterioration. "A majority of them have a predominance of nerve tissue, with weak muscles and digestive organs." The New York *Sun* was cited to the effect that the New Englanders who have remained at home have small families; "the women are not symmetrically developed, and their nervous organization is likely to be morbid." Kenney in his *Con-*

quest of Death (1893) refers to a medical examination of ten Aryan-American women and ten American negresses which showed that four-fifths of the former had some abnormality of the reproductive organs while the negresses were all normal. He charges New England with imposing too intense pressure on the nervous system of girls at the expense of the body. In the *Annals* for 1894-1895 J. L. Brownell cites Edson as believing that the principal factor in the decrease of the birth-rate is the physical and nervous deterioration of women, owing largely to the severe strain of modern life and education.

Part of the foregoing expression of opinion as to woman's frailty is obviously in the direction of Herbert Spencer's antithesis between individuation and genesis. Other citations can be given to show the prevalence of opinion that intellectualism and nerve strain has been a pronounced factor in the decline of fecundity.

Doctor Allen in his Social Science address just at the close of the war gives "over-development of the brain and over devotion to intellectual pursuits" as one of the causes of falling birth-rate. Cowley in *Our Divorce Courts* cited the Reverend Henry N. Hudson as saying that "by the general course and ordering of our American life . . . our habits of fast living are working and developing the nervous system all out of proportion with the muscular and nutritive. . . We are tugging and straining, and using all possible means to turn ourselves all into mind." The result was said to be organic disablement of the reproductive function and matters were alleged to have grown alarmingly worse within twenty or thirty years. In the early nineties J. L. Brownell expressed the conclusion that there

must be other causes of birth decline besides voluntary prevention, inasmuch as white and colored birth-rates vary together. He thought

> Mr. Spencer's generalization that the birth-rate diminishes as the rate of individual evolution increases is confirmed by a comparison of the birth-rates with the death-rates from nervous diseases and also with the density of population, the values of agricultural and manufactured products, and the mortgage indebtedness.

In Massachusetts the city birth-rate since 1870 had been higher than in the rest of the state but Brownell explained this seeming anomaly by the large proportion of city population that was between fourteen and forty-nine and by the large element of Irish and French Canadian population.

Thorndike is recorded in the *Independent* of 1903 as concluding on the basis of statistical study of college alumni of three institutions of different types (Middlebury, New York University, and Wesleyan) that natural rather than voluntary sterility was the dominant factor. Cattell asserted in 1909 that "where there is no child or but one, until recently at least, physiological infertility may be assumed. . . Among women of the American upper classes there are probably about as many miscarriages as births; and probably less than one-fourth of all mothers can nurse adequately their infants. The small family is often due to voluntary restriction in deference to the health of the wife."

Growing knowledge of venereal diseases and their consequences suggests another phase of degeneracy that has been assigned as a main cause of infecundity. This subject has received marked attention within the last dozen years. In the 1906 *Annual Report of the National League for the Protection of the Family* Doctor

Dike says that the subject of low birth-rate and sterility

> Is now taking on a new aspect, to which the attention of those outside the medical profession should be called.
>
> Since the discovery of the germ of what was formerly considered the milder and less harmful of the two chief sexual diseases, and more especially since the numerous ramifications and effects of this milder form, hitherto little suspected to exist, have been found and studied, there has been a strong tendency towards agreement among medical authorities that this disease is the real cause of a large part of the decline in the birth-rate everywhere. While the difficulty of getting accurate statistics on the subject is fully recognized by the authorities upon it, they seem to agree that nearly or quite one half of the cases of sterility among the married are due to the milder of the two diseases, and some would put it much higher. The more recent investigations also go to show, so the medical authorities say, that a large number of what they call "one-child marriages" must be accounted for by the effects of this milder of the two diseases. It may be that these figures are based too much on European conditions and those of our great cities. But after all needed allowance for these defects, there still remains a grave state of things. . .
>
> The recent publication of Dr. Prince A. Morrow's scientific book on *Social Diseases and Marriage*, the taking up of the subject last summer by the American Medical Association, the formation of the Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis in New York . . . and of the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Social Disease . . . and the action of the last Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts in appointing a special committee to investigate and report on the subject are hopeful signs. . .

Still another phase of possible race exhaustion lies in the fact that so many artificial appliances and methods have been developed for use in parturition and the care of infancy. "When children who can not be born naturally or cannot be nursed survive, we may be producing a sterile race." Furthermore, President Hall

in the *Cosmopolitan* of 1909-1910, attributing the decline in native fecundity to some sort of degeneracy, "for the most part . . . not race suicide but racial death," says that "it does not seem to be entirely certain that the human race can permanently survive and flourish in this country."

Of the foregoing involuntary factors in infecundity, the most important is undoubtedly venereal disease. Woman's frailty, so far at least as the cultivated classes are concerned, passed its climax at least by the later sixties. A symposium in the *North American Review* of 1882 on the "Health of American Women" gives the opinion of Mrs. Stanton that variable climate, excitement of a young civilization, improper dress, diet, and habits, have been detrimental to the health of American women. She mentions the fact that girls are not allowed vigorous exercise and that debut comes too early, "often at the age of sixteen entering upon a round of social gayeties." Dr. Dio Lewis remarks also on women's viciously tight lacing and declares corsets and heavy skirts to be a prolific cause of "female weaknesses." She says that a girl that has indulged in tight lacing should not marry; her husband will secretly regret his marriage. Dr. James R. Chadwick, however, failed to see that

> Our women are, as a whole, less healthy or robust than those of other countries. And I have seen so vast an improvement in their physical and mental vigor during the few years over which my personal observation extends, that I feel encouraged to predict for them in the near future as great preëminence in physical and mental strength as is now universally accorded them for physical beauty.

Of recent years there seems to have been a positive improvement in habits of dress that have to do directly

with generation.[177] That education of women is not responsible for physical incapacity for motherhood was indicated in a previous chapter. More importance is to be attached to unhygienic employments of women – a matter that will be more fully discussed at a later point – and it should be remembered that this menace has been of larger proportions during the post-bellum period than before. Whatever influence individuation, intellectualism, and the nervous strain of modern life may have had on physiological fecundity is indeterminate. So also for the effects of artificial child care and the uncertain adjustment of European man to American climate. The consequences of venereal ailments, however, are certain and in large degree measurable. It is a question, nevertheless, whether the most significant cause of the declining birth-rate is not to be sought in another direction – whether it has not been mainly voluntary, at first largely by means of abortion, but with advancing knowledge, through the prevention of conception. Something of the prevalence of these practices and of their causes may be gathered from the following citations.

Just at the close of the war, Dr. Nathan Allen mentioned "the growth and prevalence of the practice of abortion" as partly responsible for "decline of productiveness among native New Englanders." He further lamented the lack of training for motherhood and called attention to the fact that "in literature and in society a large family is ceasing to be treated as a cause of congratulation and getting to be looked on as an indication of recklessness or barbarism." The cultivated will breed sparingly and lose their stock in the multitude.

The matter of infanticide and abortion received con-

[177] Compare Hill, "Economic Value of the Home," 410.

siderable attention at this period. T. L. Nichols, M.D., in his *Forty Years of American Life* said: "Infanticide is less common in America than in England. Procuring abortions by the use of drugs, or by mechanical means, is probably more frequent in America." Burn says that in America unborn children are too frequently destroyed by their inhuman mothers and that the practice of abortion is not confined to any one social level: "The wife of the mechanic, and the fashionable partner of the independent gentleman have recourse to the same means of relieving themselves of a duty against which their selfishness revolts." He said that the advertising columns of the New York *Herald* contained the notices of doctors who lived by the practice of abortion. Burn thought he had reason to believe that such service was more frequently in demand by married ladies who cared more for midnight revel than for the nursery, "than among the frail daughters of Eve, who use them to hide their shame." Several such practitioners had just paid the penalty of fatal operations. Scores of advertising ladies, also, "followed in the wake" of the unscrupulous physicians. The Grand Jury of the city and state of New York reported in 1864

> The increase in the commission of this kind of offences and in the number of disreputable so-called "physicians," who readily afford their criminal aid to parties desirous of either concealing their shame or of relieving themselves from the trouble and expense of rearing their natural offspring, gives ample warning to our legislators that some new measures should be taken to mete out to this class of offenders such punishment as will repress this growing evil.

Rose said that abortion was regarded without horror by a large number "and this by no means the poorer class." Attempts to punish a female abortionist had failed, it was said, not so much for lack of evidence as because

she was in a position to embarrass high society folk. "The wives of many Americans," said Rose, "will not be burdened with the cares of a nursery and consequently take any means available to rid themselves of duties so ungraceful and distasteful."

The New York *Medical Journal* of September, 1866, contains a review of Doctor Storer's book on abortion, etc. The review speaks of the well known evil of forced abortions "independently of the moral obliquity of the act," but adds that women are as a rule ignorant of evil effects. "Any moral considerations of this question have little or no weight with those determined to prevent any further increase of their families – for it is among the married that the practice obtains to the largest degree." The Boston *Commonwealth*, commenting on the book, said: "The extent to which the crime to which it relates is practised, even by women holding respectable positions in society, is fearfully great." The Springfield *Republican* said that the book "cannot be too universally read," as "criminal abortion . . . has become so alarmingly common."

The Reverend John Todd published in 1867 a work entitled *Serpents in the Dove's Nest* in which he said that the procurement of abortions is fearfully common and that seventy-five per cent of the cases are caused and effected by females. He refers to the low birth-rate of the native population and then to the advertisements "of almost every paper, city and village" offering abortive medicines, to the notorious abortive establishments which numbered over four hundred in New York alone, to the confessions made to physicians by hundreds of women injured in the process, to "the almost constant and unblushing applications made to the profession from 'women, in all classes of society, married and

unmarried, rich and poor, otherwise good, bad, or indifferent'." Friends "bestow pity, instead of congratulations" when a child is born. An Irish woman remarked: "We like large families of children, but American women kill theirs before they are born." It was alleged that in many circles women boasted of the number of times they and their friends had procured abortions. Sometimes shattered health, remorse, or madness were the fearful results of the crime. Physicians are quoted to the effect that of those in like circumstances who apply for abortion, "married women vastly predominate."

Mr. Todd refers also to the use of what seem to be contraconceptives. "It has become the fashion for parents to be leading round a solitary, lonely child, or possibly two, it being well understood, talked about, and boasted of, that they are to have no more!" Married people that would not patronize an abortionist venture to use purchased devices to prevent an increase of family. It was told that in a large, populous district of a western city not one living Anglo-American child had been born in three years. Even negro and Indian women were alleged to be following the practice of family limitation. The author of the treatise in question placed the major blame on women.

> There is scarcely a young lady in New England – and probably it is so through the land – whose marriage can be announced in the paper, without her being insulted within a week by receiving through the mail a printed circular, offering information and instrumentalities, and all needed facilites, by which the laws of heaven in regard to the increase of the human family may be thwarted.

Dixon's *New America* (the author being an Englishman, editor of the *Athenæum*) says that there seems to be a movement for childlessness among American wo-

men. He is told that children make the mother ugly and come between her and her husband. Many serious men fear the extinction of the stock. The evil is especially marked in New England, Pennsylvania, and New York; in the West, women pride themselves on their brood. The fact that many city ladies do not care to have their houses full of children is not a mere matter of inference.

> Allusions to the nursery, such as in England and Germany would be taken by a young wife as compliments, are here received with a smile, accompanied by a shrug of undoubted meaning. You must not wish an American lady, in whose good graces you desire to stand, many happy returns of a christening day; she might resent the wish . . . indeed I have known a young and pretty woman rise from a table and leave the room, on hearing such a favor expressed towards her by an English guest.

Massachusetts women have made themselves companions of their husbands – brilliant, subtle, substantial companions; but a majority of the rising generation of Boston is of German or of Irish birth.

Zincke's *Last Winter in the United States* asserts "after enquiry made everywhere on the spot" that the evil is participated in to a large extent by the husbands and is coextensive with the Union. "It is just as strongly felt at Denver . . . as at New York, and results in almost as much evil at New Orleans as at Chicago." He attributes the practice to the fact that in America the expenses and annoyances of housekeeping are very great; young couples that are not rich generally escape them by living in hotels. To a couple barely able to find means to live thus, the cost of every additional child is serious. Childlessness allows comfort, society, amusement; husband and wife agree to have but one child or none. Another reason which often has much weight

with husbands is the short duration of female beauty; the young wife does not care to dilapidate herself prematurely and "I met with husbands who . . . did not wish to have their wives, during the whole period of their good looks, in the nursery." When husband and wife grow older, however, there is no tie between them; this is one of the causes of the numerous divorces. Many families run out in the third generation.

An Australian visitor, Falk, wrote in 1877 that infanticide accounts for the rapid diminution of the descendants of the original Puritan settlers. On a wagon trip through New England in that year Kenney made a point of calling on a physician or druggist in every village visited. The result of his inquiries was unanimous testimony that American men and women of the old stock had ceased to care for large families and frequently took means to prevent them. Acts to prevent conception and to cause abortion were reported to be general in every village visited. The impression confirmed in many instances by statistics was "that a large majority of the rural communities in New England had a birth-rate too low to replace the losses in the native stock by death."

That the shortcoming of "the States" excited comment in Canada is evidenced in the 1877 address of the president of the Canadian Medical Association, who after quoting the words of Doctor Allen as to the causes of infecundity, viz., the high standard of living, artificial wants, irksomeness of household duties and the care of children, so that "in married life a series of nameless acts take place," went on to say:

> In those few, grave, weighty, momentous sentences, gentlemen, is a picture of some of the chief causes of that alarming decline of the birth-rate, and with it, and as a consequence of it, a gradual and pernicious change in the female organization.

This, in thoughtful minds, has created alarm, lest the induced organization become permanent in type.

The inference drawn from a number of considerations presented by Cowley is that physical deterioration of women, perversion of woman's natural instincts, and the lure of artificial attractions produce sterility and degeneracy. Cowley noted "amongst other elements, whether causes, effects, or evidence of degeneracy" excessive passion for wealth, leading to overwork in the pursuit; undue hurry and excitement in all the affairs of life; intemperance in food and drink; enormous use of quack medicine; "the general indifference to human life; the increased use of spirits, tobacco, and opium; the increase of lunacy; the decrease of children; the decrease of the marriage-rate and the increase of the divorce-rate." Stirpiculture was neglected.

In 1880 Day said that the aversion to children manifested by married women seemed to him the worst drawback to the well-being, not only of New England, but of other parts of the republic. He found it difficult to account for the fact that tho New England girls married they rarely became mothers. Was it a matter of selfish shrinking from burden, restraint, anxiety, expense? Women did regard offspring as inimical to good appearance. One author was quoted to the effect that "Herod's massacre of the innocents was as nothing compared with that of millions and millions by antenatal murders."

In *Potter's American Monthly* of 1881 Thomas S. Sozinskey, M.D. says: "There would seem to be an increasing propensity to fight against the maternal instinct. Some wives are bold enough to declare that they do not want any children; and a few even dare to proclaim openly that they will forego propagation if

possible." He says that deliberate efforts are being made to divert the tastes of women from motherhood. Girls are led to believe that distinction for achievement outside woman's traditional sphere is most desirable. No systematic preparation is made for the duties of maternity.

Gaillardet, author of *L'Aristocratie en Amérique*, found "a monstrous industry announced and practised in New York with a publicity of which I have never seen an example in any city of Europe." Mme. Restell, registered midwife, advertised in the papers her work as abortionist, dilating on the inconvenience of families too numerous for the health of mothers or well-being of parents. This lady had secured a numerous clientele among the wealthy and had a magnificent mansion and splendid equipages.

A writer on the "Alleged Decay of the Family" said in the *Methodist Review* of 1887 that abortion menaces the life of the nation; it has reduced the descendants of the Puritans in some localities to an insignificant minority; the committee of a western State Board of Health avows that the number of women in the United States who die from its immediate effects is not less than six thousand per year.

> Gynecologists affirm that it is not maternity which sends to them the largest number of patients, but the needless refusal of its responsibilities. . . In communities where known licentiousness does not exclude men from respectable . . . circles, and where some profess to look upon adultery and especially of married women, as a venial offence, criminal abortion and the social evil assume their most flagitious and revolting forms. . . In Ohio careful medical investigation has led to the conclusion that prenatal infanticide annually robs the family of one-third its legitimate increment . . . a partial loss of capacity for maternity has, it is said already befallen

American women and the voluntary refusal of its responsibilities is the lament of the physician and the moralist.

Doctor Dike in *Perils to the Family* expressed serious concern at declining fecundity especially in the so-called native stock. The low birth-rate, he says, is not to any great degree due to loss of reproductive power; such loss bulks larger as effect than as cause of declining birth-rate. In three or four sections large enough to be symptomatic the physicians think that legitimate children would be fifty per cent more numerous but for criminal deeds. The evil affects intelligent and even Christian people and has spread in rural communities. "Many of the families which are best fitted so far as pecuniary means and social opportunity are concerned, are deliberately choosing to be unfruitful."

Walker, as is well known, attributed the fall in native fecundity to the pressure of immigrant competition. This factor must have had some connection with the native birth-rate, perhaps more as a result than as a cause of the gap, but surely to some degree as a cause. Certainly the new code of infertility went along with a feeling of greater responsibility for the children propagated. A *Nation* article of 1867 remarks that New England parents of the previous century "experienced but little of the trembling solicitude with which parents now see their sons and daughters . . . stand on the threshold of life and bid a last farewell to childhood."

It would be tedious and indeed impossible to detail the comments on infecundity that have been printed within the last quarter century. All that can be done is to suggest striking features of the discussion. Kenney's *Conquest of Death* contains matter of special interest.

Houses or rooms to let to families – without children – and families – without children – advertising the advantage when

seeking houses or apartments, advertisements of sure cures for suppressed menstruation "from whatever cause," appear every day in city newspapers.

He quotes "a physician of fair practice in a popular summer resort" to the effect that "in the treatment of women for the sequelae of recent abortions, these cases bear the ratio to conceptions going to term of six to seven." Married men shirk the responsibilities imposed by the "high and grand creative work" of marriage, but the wife "evidently is an unusually important cause of man's failure to reproduce." He cites a physician with large general practice as saying that in his experience (of but eighteen years) he has noticed both diminished desire for children among American women and also a marked decline in their child-bearing capacity. Kenney correlates the prevalence of abortion, infanticide, masturbation, contraconception with the strength of the woman's rights movement. "These errors are not so much due to women's rights perhaps as are women's rights due to a diseased condition, the common parent of both these tendencies to sterility." He charges New England with cultivating ambitions inconsistent with maternity; thus the sexual instincts are effaced and motherhood is belittled. Thus both innate and voluntary sterility grow out of the educational system.

J. S. Billings in 1893[178] attributed the decline of fecundity principally to voluntary and deliberate avoidance or prevention on the part of a steadily growing number of married people. This phenomenon he ascribed to the following causes: first, the diffusion of information on anatomy, physiology, and hygiene during the preceding generation; second, growth of the opinion that abstention from parenthood is not only not

[178] Billings. "Diminishing Birth-rate in the United States."

in itself sinful but may be under certain circumstances commendable; third, rise in the standard of living. Bourget said that in America maternity is almost humiliating or vulgar.

The twentieth century has witnessed a voluminous discussion of "race suicide," the upshot of which seems to be that celibacy, late marriage, and prevention of conception or of birth account for the reduced rate of increase of population. The condition is most extreme among native Americans of the upper classes and is occasioned by the relatively free capillarity of society which encourages the struggle for ease, luxury, and social dissipation. The contagion is downward. Desire to prevent conception is general among the people of the aspiring middle class; it has reached skilled workers and well-to-do farmers; and is now appealing to the masses. Emily Balch quotes one of her foreign friends as saying: "Our women despise the American women because they have such small families;" but foreign immigrants, after being some time in the country, seem to acquire the American infecundity. Fishberg said in 1906 that among the immigrant Jewish population of New York City, fertility is markedly decreasing. "Those who have been a longer time in the United States are always inquiring about the best means of limiting the size of the family, while the native Jews are hardly to be distinguished in this respect from the average American city population."

Mrs. Busbey declared in 1910 that the American young woman "enters marriage with the feeling that maternity must be avoided as hysterically, in fact, as it was debarred from her mother's confidence before." I. M. Rubinow declared about ten years ago that a new

mental disease had arisen—the fear of conception, "which makes a mental wreck of many a normal and healthy woman." The individualistic spirit of avoidance is well reflected in an article by "Paterfamilias" in the *North American Review* of 1903. He denies that the old-fashioned family meant happiness to the father and asserts that it often reduced women almost to the level of slaves, destroying their youth and beauty and perhaps their health. The children were not always wanted when they came. This writer held "that marriage is mainly for the highest good of the two individuals concerned, and that rearing of children is only incidental."

A writer in the *Delineator* asserts "the superior, or at least the more persistent, happiness of couples without children." They can be in all to each other and escape the fag of toil and housekeeping. The man is able to give his wife a more satisfying companionship "and looks forward to the day when he can retire on a decent fortune and jaunt about the world with her." In the heyday of the Teddy Bear, its vogue was regarded as symbolic of the substitution of sterile interests for the cult of motherhood—an ominous corroboration of the trend of the generation. Rossiter in the *Atlantic* of 1911 sees the significance of the coming of infertility in the fact that it is world-wide. "A practise which is almost as common among the negroes of the Mississippi 'black belt' as in Paris or New York cannot be summarily dismissed as a crime or as a sign of degeneracy." The birth-rate of the country as a whole is of course still high enough for reasonable purposes.

Professor Charles F. Emerick in a 1911 article, "Is the Diminishing Birth-rate Volitional?" considers the

biological view that the stress of modern life deprives the reproductive organs of the essential energy, and the medical view that

> Modern transportation and the growing density of population, together with the increase of wealth and leisure . . . spread the taint of sexual disorders. . . Some authorities hold venereal diseases responsible for fully twenty-five per cent "of the inability to procreate in man" and for more than fifty per cent "of enforced sterility in woman, to say nothing of the one-child sterility where the conceptional capacity is absolutely extinguished with the birth of the first child."

Emerick sees little evidence "that incapacity due to sexual disease has become more common," nor is it clear "that venereal diseases are most common in that portion of the population where the birth-rate is lowest." He raises the question, also, as to whether the suddenness of birth-rate decline does not argue against constitutional incapacity. "Apparently the ability of the reproductive organs to take care of themselves in any competitive contest with other demands upon the human system is to be presumed." If the fault is with the involuntary nervous system, why does the phenomenon appear in rural quietude and among day laborers? "Our conclusion . . . is that the diminishing birth-rate is primarily volitional, and that the various factors which make for involuntary sterility are of minor importance." "Incapacity is to some extent a by-product of certain kinds of 'preventives' that sterilize the reproductive organs. This explains why some newly wedded couples who make it a point to avoid children subsequently find that they can not have them."

There is at least a plausible connection between the fall of the birth-rate and the rise of woman labor in public industry. The Avelings, for instance, quote a commissioner as saying that "sewing machine girls are

subject to diseases of the womb and when married mostly have miscarriages." The Avelings themselves declared

> We have never in the English Manchester seen women so worn out and degraded, such famine in their cheeks, such need and oppression, starving in their eyes, as in the women we saw trudging to their work in the New Hampshire Manchester. What must the children born of such women be?

Helen Campbell in her *Women Wage Earners* said:

> It is one of the worst evils in shop life, not only for Massachusetts, but for the entire United States that in all large stores, where fixed rules must necessarily be adopted, girls are forced to ask men for permission to go to closets, and often must run the gauntlet of men and boys. All physicians who treat this class testify to the fact that many become seriously diseased as the result of unwillingness to subject themselves to this ordeal.

Mr. J. C. Cooper in *Handwriting on the Wall* quoted a writer in *Woman's Physical Development* as saying that

> The aversion of woman to child bearing is one of the bitter evils of the day – and its effect on the coming race will be of serious moment. . . It is very true that the economic conditions which make the environment of many women are responsible for the dread of bringing children into the world, both directly and indirectly. Directly, by reason of the fact that the mother must go into the factory and shop to supplement the fast decreasing wage of the father. In the great mill districts of New England, mothers work at their looms during the whole period of pregnancy, in many instances up to the very day of confinement. Not much wonder that these women dread the coming of children.

A woman wrote typically in the 1907 *Independent*: She wanted a child. She believed maternal instincts of the majority of American women to be strong. She knew many single women in business who would like to have a child of their own. But she and her husband

never dared to have a child. This woman had to work in order to meet the expenses of the family consisting of herself, husband, and a relative. To have a child would mean a cut in the mother's earnings and the possibility of being incapacitated for work thereafter. A child needs so much, and it would be impossible to educate it properly. The house in which they lived had fifteen families, totalling fourteen children, six of whom were in one family, four in another; ten families were childless. The woman writing would rather commit suicide than beget children without hope, "destined from birth for wage slavery and exploitation or worse. . . . Are the bodies of women to be regarded merely as baby machines, to supply the losses which civilization creates by its awful mismanagement? . . . The master class can't force me to furnish food for its factories."[179]

Probably if this woman had no access to industry she would raise children like the foreigners. The expansion of woman's horizon has broadened and lengthened her views, and she puts life on a new level. Yet the cause of absence of children is of course not woman's industrial opportunity but the heavy grind of capitalism keeping the family on the border line of want. There is, however, a direct influence exerted on the birth-rate by woman's industrial employment:

1. Access to industry means emancipation from economic dependence on man; woman gains prestige; she is no longer constrained to yield herself unreservedly. Her rights will be more considered and her wishes in the matter of bearing children count for more. The cost of maternity to her will be more regarded.

[179] Woman's Reason for not Raising a Family": in the *Independent*, vol. lxii, 780-784.

2. In case of married women who remain at work, children are an embarrassment and interfere with a career, hence the tendency is to avoid maternity. There is perhaps a tendency for other women to admire the success of these ladies and imitate their system. To a degree child-bearing becomes a reproach when there is opportunity for a brilliant career outside the home. Mrs. Commander finds however that it is among the well-to-do women, with the most liberty and leisure, that child-bearing is most generally avoided; laboring and professional women are more willing to have children.

3. Certain employments have a most injurious effect on the health of women. Take the instance of a woman working at a foot-power machine fastening handles on screw-drivers and giving seven hundred fifty kicks an hour to the treadle. Or again a woman working at a flax frame, in her bare feet, temperature as high as eighty–drenched with water from the flax. At night she changes to her street clothes that have been hanging on the walls in the dampness. No dressing room is provided, so she makes the change in the presence of the men. The great complaint of working women is about the necessity of standing. Continuous standing produces grave effects on the generative organs of women, entailing suffering and permanent injury. It may result in sterility. The nerve strain from speeding-up results in nervous debility. Sedentary occupations cause obstruction of abdominal and pelvic organs. Among married workers miscarriages and still-births are common.[180]

4. Birth-rates depend on the age at which women marry. If a girl marries at twenty-seven she is not

[180] Jacobi. "Physical Cost of Women's Work."

likely to have more than two or three children and conception is not so certain at a late age. Nearly or quite one-half of the working-women are single during several of the years in which women of former generations were rearing children.

We may say that these tendencies to a lower birth-rate are either beneficial or else preventable without removing women from industry. We need not be surprised if the first use of a new freedom occasions extreme revolt that makes child-bearing a reproach. As to the actual sterility produced in certain industries, the dangers are in most cases the fruit of bad conditions and not a necessary result of work. It will be perfectly possible to safeguard woman in most industries that she is likely to enter in large numbers. We must not forget, too, that the wretchedness of the home is as serious a factor perhaps as the dangers of the factory. Even the model housewife in the old-style home with all the heavy work is not much better off than the factory girl.

The reduction of birth-rate already prevalent in the upper circles of society is certain to stretch down into the lower levels, indeed it is already doing so, though not rapidly enough. The poor generally have far too many children. Where six or seven are living, there have often been three or four deaths. Miscarriages are commonplace. Usually mothers would be satisfied with two or three children. It is doubtful whether the average working-class family can afford as many as that in consistency with the mother's health and the struggle for existence. Care during pregnancy and confinement costs too much; hence disaster to health is common.

The high rate of child mortality, occasioned principally by evil environmental conditions over which

the individual has no control, is an important factor in the problem of racial survival. The excess of deaths (largely preventable) during the first year of life over deaths from all causes at any other equal period of life shows that the reduction in child mortality has not kept pace with the growth of scientific knowledge. One crucial factor in infant mortality is the lack of breast feeding. President Hall wrote some seven or eight years ago that "in nearly every land where statistics are kept, the mortality during the first year of infants that are deprived of the mother's milk, is at least four times as great as among those that have it."[181] Some years since a New York physician said: "No matter how dark the tenement, how foulsome the street, how unsanitary the home, or how sickening the conditions in which the child is raised, an infant, fed at the breast of a healthy woman, runs little risk of death."[182]

Part of the correlation between absence of breast-feeding and infant mortality may be due to general debility of the stock, producing in the mother inability to suckle the child and in the infant a puny constitution. President Hall has said that inability to suckle the child is the beginning of sterility.[183] But many mothers could nurse their baby if they received an extra quart of milk a day or an extra cup of cocoa at each meal.[184] In many cases extreme poverty keeps the mother away at work and renders the natural feeding impossible. Many mothers, however, that could nurse their children have refused to do so, either because of the trouble involved or because of supposed effects on their beauty, probably not knowing that they are inviting premature

[181] Hall. "What is to Become of Your Baby?" 663.

[182] Phillips. "Mother and Baby," 624.

[183] Hall. "What is to Become of Your Baby?" 663.

[184] Phillips. "Mother and Baby," 628.

senility.[185] Conditions in this respect seem to be better today, whether only as a fad or as the lasting result of enlightenment remains to be seen.

The perspective of this chapter, indicating as it does the early rise of alarm over "racial decay," should somewhat moderate extreme fears rising out of the fresh publicity of recent years. Our generation is, at any rate, not the originator of the fault; nor has birth reduction had, up to the present, any overwhelmingly disastrous effects. It is only in the setting of international rivalry that it need occasion any great perturbation. If it is true, as Rossiter alleges, that "the large family has been and is one of the principal sources of the finer elements of American character, the United States is what it is today because of large families"—we shall find in larger social groups a substitute. It is encouraging to know that the dissemination of knowledge concerning reproduction is building up in an increasing number of young people an appreciation of the deeper responsibilities of marriage and parenthood. We can accept with entire assent the words written several years since by President Hall:

> I think the country is justified in believing that even if the tide of fecund immigrants should be cut off, the men and women now alive upon our soil are likely to be succeeded by generations which will be better than they.[186]

[185] Jacobi. "Physical Cost of Women's Work," 843.

[186] Hall. "What is to Become of Your Baby?" 668.

XII. DIVORCE[187]

De Tocqueville said that there was "no country in the world where the tie of marriage is so much respected as in America, or where conjugal happiness is more highly or worthily appreciated." In 1867, Doctor Jeffries in his preface to the translation of Carlier's *Marriage in the United States* says that "at present, this seems hardly true, even of New England" and remarks that "the last six or seven years have not much remedied the defects and omissions in the laws on marriage and divorce. In some of the western states, the laws of divorce render marriage temporary concubinage." Rose about the same time declared that in America too great freedom results in "hasty, ill-assorted marriages, for which the divorce court gives a remedy." He says that home ties do not bind Americans very strongly; there is too much self-assertion, and easy divorce "is a fundamental blow to the family system. . . There is a very light impression as to the obligation of the marriage tie."

As has been already observed, the rising tide of divorce was early a subject of much discussion. In 1868 a writer on the *Future of the Family* said:

> The sense of the sacredness of the marriage tie is unquestionably declining. The number of men and women who have separated from their wives and husbands is increasing and the discredit of such separations is diminishing; and we are assured there is now to be found in some of the western states a large and increasing class of children . . . who, without having

[187] Consult Lichtenberger, *Divorce*.

> been formally and clandestinely abandoned by their parents, are nevertheless in a state of doubt as to who are their mothers.

A few months later the *Nation* informs us that "mobilization of the family"—ease of separation—is demanded.

Loomis in the *New Englander* of 1868 declares that

> By the operation of our divorce laws, bigamy and polygamy have been erected into an institution which retains all their vicious attractiveness, and without some of the restraints which in Oriental communities mitigate the practical operation of the system. We require in our civilized polygamy only that the many wives be held in succession, and not altogether, and we relieve our polygamists of the necessity of supporting more than one wife at a time.

At that time many people said that the increase in divorce was due to the Civil War, and that after a while there would be no marked increase.[188] Such, however, proved a false assumption save in so far as the war was responsible for premature development of social conditions consequent principally on urban industrialism.

Cowley in *Our Divorce Courts* (1879) said that the frequent failure of the courts to allow adequate alimony to the divorced wife for the support of herself and children in their accustomed style made divorce to be sought for sometimes as a measure of economy. Nor was alimony always enforced after it had been decreed. "Many a river and mill pond in New England has received the drowning body of some distracted wife, thus thrown out in helplessness to die." Many such had hanged themselves. Some sank into vice and crime.

Manigault in the *United States Unmasked* (published in London in the same year) indicated an opin-

[188] National League for Protection of the Family. *Annual Report for 1908*, 7-8.

ion that the Americans had gone back on the true principles of marriage which they inherited; divorce, he thought, was very loose; people were divorced without their knowledge.

In 1883 a Committee of the General Conference of Maine reporting on the divorce evil called attention to certain factors as follows: 1. The ease with which a place of abode is changed and the growing habit of travel weakens the power of home life and relaxes many healthful moral restraints. 2. The increase of luxury and aversion to economy, drudgery, and housework. When young men are unwilling to bestow any effort in making their home attractive and young women prefer the cotton-mill and shoe-factory to their kitchens and drawing rooms the results cannot be good. 3. The multiplication of bad literature and the false views of marriage and practical life which are widely inculcated by this means. A marriage contracted for romantic motives and in defiance of sound common sense will not be likely to prove a happy one. 4. Ambition for notoriety and a dazzling career. 5. Multiplication of organizations on a different foundation than that of the family.

> There are organizations in our country, numbered by the hundred thousands, into which the family life cannot enter, in which the members stand as simple individuals, and are treated as if there were no such thing as family obligations . . . with little or no recognition of the family and the home, taking people away from home, and giving them associations and interests separate from those of their families.

6. Absence of children in marriage; most marriages that end in divorce are childless.

In the same year Dr. Morgan Dix, rector of Trinity, said that divorce and other evils portended the destruction of home and social order. "Communism, which

aims at the subversion of all existing institutions, is logically correct in proclaiming the design of abolishing marriage, and making all children the property of the state, to be reared at the public expense." In the *Popular Science Monthly* for the same year a writer remarks that "there is no contract of the value of twenty dollars, subject to the verdict of a jury or the decision of a court, that is so easily avoided and so shamefully dissolved as the contract of marriage." Charles Dickens' magazine, *All the Year Round*, in the same year quotes an American lady lecturer as saying:

> A man who has been married, divorced, and remarried, will, in travelling from Maine to Florida, find himself sometimes a bachelor, sometimes married to his first wife, sometimes married to his second wife, sometimes a divorced man, and sometimes a bigamist, according to the statutes of the States through which he is travelling.

This exaggerated *reductio ad absurdum* is not altogether antiquarian today.

At the time when the Divorce Reform League was organized in 1881, statistical information on divorce was almost lacking.

> Most of the United States and Europe were still a blank on the subject. Crude notions prevailed. Southerners denied that divorce prevailed to any extent in their part of the country. Intemperance was thought by many to lie at the bottom of the evil. The feeling was general that nine-tenths of the divorces were obtained through migration to a foreign State for the purpose.[189]

A comprehensive national investigation was necessary and was authorized in 1887, the result being Carroll D. Wright's monumental work of 1889.

By 1886 the League had "become the means of intercommunication for those interested in the welfare of

[189] Dike. *Review of Twenty-five Years*, 5.

the family." A statistical survey of forty-four Vermont towns had been made which threw

> Strong light on the condition of the home in the back neighborhoods of country towns and the need of putting the Family at its appropriate work as the most feasible means of Christian work in them. . . It is in the rural counties of a state that we find the highest divorce rate in the great majority of instances and it is from these that a large part of the growth of cities eventually comes.[190]

In the report of 1887 reference is made to an inquiry by the New York *Sun* into the evasions and abuses of the divorce law in New York City.

> The fullest details are given to show that fraud, perjury, and forgery are constantly practised and the *Sun* declares there are no less than fifteen establishments in the city turning out hundreds of bogus divorces every year. . . I have not seen the correctness of the exposure questioned. Some things which the experts of the Bureau of Labor have already discovered in Utah parallel the story.

The secretary, Doctor Dike, wrote in the same year in his *Perils to the Family*:

> The conflicting marriage and divorce laws of the country have less to do with the increase of divorce than most people think, but they are a great evil in their opportunities for fraud, and in the uncertainty they give to the legal status of the married or divorced, as they pass from state to state, and of their children. And not the least of the evils is their effect on the popular ideas of what marriage and the family are.

He said

> Facts [of divorce] amount to a practical confession that five, ten, twelve, and even fourteen per cent of the families in certain large communities are beyond the reach of all Christian or philanthropic or civil means of relief. . . We must add a fourth to represent those whose petitions for divorce are denied.

He adds that considerable numbers of people "discard the legal steps out of one marriage into another, and

[190] National Divorce Reform League, *Rept. of 1886*, 4, 6.

that illicit unions as substitutes for marriage are of dangerous frequency. The practice is not unknown in country towns." Statistics fail as to families that are formally continued, but in which loveless relations have "made many unions a living death." Dike said further that the number of those who deliberately forsook marriage for illicit relations showed an increase in cities and probably elsewhere.

> There is reason to think that heedless marriages, a decrease in the whole number of marriages and of children, with an increase in illegitimate births, and a great increase in the various offences against chastity, have accompanied the increase of divorces.

Gladstone wrote in the *Nineteenth Century* of 1889:

> It is in America that, from whatever cause, this [marriage] controversy has reached a stage of development more advanced than elsewhere. Moreover the present social life of America offers at all points a profoundly important field of observation, towards which European eyes have hardly yet begun to be turned. . . Many a reader on this side of the water will be startled when he learns that in the old state of Connecticut one marriage is dissolved in every ten, and in the new state of California one in every seven. He may learn with equal surprise that in South Carolina there is . . . no legal divorce whatever. . . I understand that the experience of America as well as of this country tends to show that divorce is largely associated with that portion of communities which is lacking in solid and stable conditions of life generally. America may suffer specially from the shiftings of relative position and circumstance, incidental to a forward movement in things material of an unexampled rapidity . . . it seems indisputable that America is the arena on which many of the problems connected with the marital state are in course of being rapidly, painfully, and perilously tried out.

Doctor Mulford was quoted about the same time as declaring that "the Family is the most important question that has come before the American people since the War."

Wright's Report of 1889 indicates that: 1. The number of divorces in the United States during twenty years as reported from ninety-five per cent of all the counties, including ninety-eight per cent of the entire population was 328,716. They increased with great uniformity from 9,937 in 1867 to 25,535 in 1886, or one hundred fifty-seven per cent against an increase in population of about sixty per cent. 2. The percentage of success in application seemed to be increasing. 3. Intemperance figured in twenty per cent of about thirty thousand cases selected for examination. 4. The duration of marriage before divorce averaged nine and seventeen hundredths years for the period and seemed to be steadily increasing. Not less than 25,371 couples obtained divorces in this period after living together more than twenty-one years and the average duration of marriages of this class was twenty-six and ninety-five hundredths years. 5. Out of the 328,716 divorces, 57,524 were granted to parties known to be without children; 129,382 or thirty-nine and four-tenths per cent were known to have children. 6. Out of the total number, the place of marriage was in 31,389 instances unknown; 7,739 couples had been married in a foreign country; of the remainder, eighty and one-tenth per cent were married in the state where they were divorced, leaving nineteen and nine-tenths per cent as migrants. The movement of native population from the state of birth was in 1870, twenty-three and two-tenths and in 1880, twenty-two and one-tenth per cent; so that even if allowance were made for the fact that the average divorced person had a much shorter time between marriage and divorce in which to move to another state than the average person had had in the duration of his life, migration for purpose of divorce, and hence need of uniform law, was not the issue.

The "Marriage and Divorce Report of 1909" incorporates most of the material of the report of 1889, making practically a report of forty years, 1867 to 1906 inclusive. The report showed that the increase in divorce had continued to be very great and widely diffused. Between 1867 and 1906, the divorce-rate for the United States as a whole per hundred thousand of estimated population showed in general a steady rise. Every section showed a marked increase.

Taking the divorce movement by decades the *Bulletin* says:

> An increase of thirty per cent in the population between the years 1870 and 1880 was accompanied with an increase of seventy-nine per cent in the number of divorces granted. In the next decade, 1880 to 1890, the population increased twenty-five per cent and the divorces seventy per cent, and in the following decade, 1890 to 1900, an increase of twenty-one per cent in population was accompanied with an increase of sixty-six per cent in the number of divorces.

In 1867 there were twenty-seven divorces in the United States per hundred thousand of estimated population; in 1906 the figure was eighty-six. The population in 1905 was estimated as little more than double that of 1870 but divorces were six times as numerous.

Broadly speaking, said the report, the divorce-rate increased as one went westward. The assumption that social differences between old and new regions would lessen so as to eliminate differences in divorce-rates seemed questionable, for the divorce-rate of the northeastern section increased more slowly than formerly while that of the western and newer sections increased more rapidly. The rate of increase had been retarded or stopped in a few of the states where most attention had been given to efforts at reform in legislation and public sentiment. Between 1867 and 1906 the divorce-

rate per hundred thousand of estimated population had by far its greatest growth in the South, especially in the south central division. Increasing resort of the negro population to court procedure may account for part of the rise, but there are no conclusive statistics as to the comparative prevalence of divorce among the two races. It is not strange, however, that developments in the new South should cause it to catch up with other sections.

In 1905 the United States had about one divorce to every twelve marriages, but Colorado, Texas, Arkansas, and Indiana all had one divorce to every six marriages; Montana, one to five; Washington, one to four. In 1903 in San Francisco the ratio was one to three. Estimates applied to marriages celebrated in 1887 indicate that somewhere between one in twelve and one in sixteen would probably end in divorce. Other calculations suggest that probably twelve is nearer right.

The Report points out as factors affecting the situation in different parts of the country, race, nationality, immigration, religion, especially the Roman Catholic, variations in law, court procedure, interstate movement of population, industrial, and other considerations. Such comparison as the investigation afforded between conditions in the large cities and in more sparsely populated sections went to show that the divorce-rate had increased faster in the cities than outside them, but on the whole, though in some states the differences between urban and rural communities were marked, the rates differed comparatively little.

The average duration of marriage before divorce was nine and seventeen-hundredths years for the period 1867-1886 and nine and nine-tenths years for the following twenty-year period. The percentage that had been

married twenty-one years or more was for the respective periods, seven and eight-tenths and ten and one-tenth. In four-fifths of the total cases the length of time between separation and divorce was ascertained. Of these, nearly one-half had been separated more than three years before they obtained a divorce. Of all applications for divorce, seventy-one and seven-tenths per cent were granted, eighteen and nine-tenths per cent were denied or discontinued, and nine and four-tenths per cent were pending. In the second twenty-year period only fifteen and four-tenths per cent of cases were contested. At the time of the report the practice of contesting divorce suits by the state was increasing. In many cases the personal contest was hardly more than a formality. Interstate migration for purposes of divorce seemed to be slight, though immigration from Canada for that purpose was apparently considerable; for while only eleven and four-tenths per cent of our foreign-born population was from Canada, thirty-six and nine-tenths per cent of the divorced couples of the last twenty years married in other countries were married in Canada.

It would seem that in general, restrictive measures of all kinds affect the statistics for from two to five years, and then the people find new ways of getting divorce. The study of the statistics following restrictions put on remarriage indicates that divorces often decrease thereafter comparatively little or only for a few years, to rise again to nearly the old rates. Figures for 1887 to 1901 may be interpreted to indicate a slightly growing disposition of the courts to grant applications for divorce.

To the quota of divorces must of course be added a

considerable number of separations that do not pass through the tribunals of divorce. Elwood says:

> Among the very poor it is found that the number of illegal desertions and separations in the United States is about four times the number of legal divorces. Desertion, in other words, is the divorce of the poor. Making allowance for this fact, it would seem conservative to add to the statistics of divorce in this country about twenty per cent for desertions and separations which are not legalized by our courts.[191]

All along, some have recognized in the divorce phenomenon certain beneficent facts. Audouard, writing of America in 1869-1870, attributed the extreme rarity of adultery in America, in the first place to the institution of divorce. "Up to that point they mutually respect the sworn faith. Cases of divorce are, moreover, less numerous in America than cases of separation in France." Men and women show good sense and tolerance. Cowley's conclusion of 1879 in *Our Divorce Courts* is very suggestive:

> The laws which permitted marriages to be dissolved for causes which demonstrated that they had failed to secure the objects for which they were formed, did not create those causes: they merely enacted that when such causes existed certain consequences should follow, and certain relief be afforded to the aggrieved party. And the long maintenance of these laws in such circumstances as those in New England, may well be regarded as showing that, on the whole, they were wise and good.

Gaillardet a little later notes the numerousness of divorces in the United States, but sees in it a compensation for the rarity of illegitimate establishments.

The drift of legislation for the past twenty-five or thirty years has been almost wholly in the direction of greater restriction. The fact that restrictive legislation

[191] Ellwood. "Divorce Problem," 230.

does not, as a rule, reduce the rate very largely, and that the same is true of the increasing uniformity of law, points to some deep-lying cause of the wave of divorce. In general, the increase of divorce corresponds to the basic transformation imposed upon society by the modern industrial system. The causes of the present divorce situation may be summarized as follows:

The basal explanation is the flux of modern civilization, due largely to the torrent of mechanical invention. Inasmuch as this stream of social innovation proceeds obviously from the city it seems natural to attribute divorce in great measure to urban conditions and beliefs. Fishberg wrote in 1906 that "in western Europe and America where the Jews are completely under the influence of modern city life, divorces are frequent and are growing in frequency." In Europe, divorce seems to be peculiarly an urban phenomenon and the United States census report of 1909 comes to the conclusion for this country that "as a broad general statement . . . it may be safely said that the divorce-rate in cities of at least one hundred thousand inhabitants is greater than it is in smaller cities and country districts." In the old rural society, custom reigned. It was custom to live with one wife; it was custom for the wife to be submissive and for the husband's authority to overrule incompatibility. Moreover when people usually spent their entire lives at the place of their birth, the sentiment of their neighbors acted with telling force. A man that formally broke up his family or a woman that formally deserted her husband had to take into account the antagonism of the neighborhood and the bitterness of its frown. City life is a great solvent of custom; neighbors do not know each other or, if they do, they are tolerant, or the problem may be solved

by moving. Hence one is free to follow fancy in matters of divorce. Moreover in the city the general tension growing out of the rush of things and the crumbling of the edge of existence is greater than in Arcadian retreats. During the generation after the war, the generation of urbanization, old scruples had diminishing weight. Between the war and the opening of the new century there developed a marked willingness to plead what were once considered slight grounds for divorce.[192]

In this country, however, the solvent influences of dynamic civilization are far from being confined to the cities. The new ways pervade speedily and thoroughly large areas of the rural population, so that the usages of these country dwellers become, as it were, urbanized. The report of 1909 shows counties of comparatively small population and containing no large town or city but with divorce rates higher (sometimes far higher) than the average for the state or for counties designated as "city counties" (that is, counties considerably more than half of whose people lived in a large city). On the other hand, many counties with cities of from forty to fifty thousand population had divorce-rates below that of their state.[193]

Family breaks are probably due more to monetary difficulties than to almost any other cause. The rising standard of living presses on the income of the family, which is often insufficient to supply the demands of a wife devoid of all conceptions of family responsibility or of scientific administration. Perhaps the most important ground for divorce is desertion. Now while this offense may often be contrived as a cover for the

[192] Compare Dike, *Summary of the Chief Points of the U. S. Marriage and Divorce Report of 1909*, 13-14.

[193] Compare Lichtenberger, *Divorce*, 80-82.

hidden cause, the prevalence of desertion by the husband among the poorer classes has for some time been serious. The report of the corresponding secretary of the Divorce Reform League for 1898 says:

> Several years ago we called attention to the abuses by the lower classes of the laws permitting divorce for desertion or neglect to support one's family. The number of instances of this kind, especially if we include those cases of desertion where marriage to other parties has taken place without divorce at all . . . must be enormously large, and become a serious menace to society. Some of these cases are reached by . . . laws making the failure to support one's family, when able to do so, a crime. But in many instances the deserting husband flees to another state and puts himself beyond the reach of the law.

By such means, husbands are able to escape from the accruing economic pressure and to throw the burden of their family upon the community.

Miss Caroline Grimsby of the Chicago Court of Domestic Relations reaches the conclusion that most homes are broken up because of financial difficulties, a conclusion strengthened by the opinions of Judge Hennings of St. Louis. Miss Grimsby was quoted in 1913 as saying:

> Most of the quarrels in married life start over money – the lack of money. It's the industrial system that's to blame at bottom, rather than the husband or the wife. The husband works for a small wage. When he comes home tired at night he hasn't the home he wants, because his wife hasn't the money to make it comfortable. The wife is unattractive. She has no money to buy pretty clothes and no time to make the best of herself. She is irritable from constant struggling to make ends meet. He is tired out from hard work. The triangle is as common in the domestic relations court as in the problem play. Men whose wives work too hard to find time to keep themselves interesting to their husbands are attracted elsewhere.[194]

[194] Milwaukee *Leader* news item dated Chicago, Oct. 10 [1913]: "Says most Homes are Broken up by Wrangles over Money."

In the same year Judge Hennings is quoted as declaring that divorce seems to be one luxury that the poor indulge in more than the rich. The judge attributed this fact chiefly to the reason that the husband, on small salary, finds the task of supporting a family a bigger one than he anticipated.

> As his expenses increase he becomes irritable, and consequently there are quarrels between husband and wife over household expenses, and matters of less trivial nature. Very often a separation results, and if the wife brings suit for divorce the husband, in many cases, lets her get a decree by default, glad to be rid of his marital responsibilities.[195]

At the other end of society modern industrialism has developed a pathological parasitism of the female which makes her little more than a vendor of sex-services or a vehicle of advertisement. She sells herself to the highest bidder and passes into a life-long prostitution accredited with respectability. Under such conditions the probability of happiness is slight and a "divorce scandal in high life" is more intrinsically normal in many cases than was the forging of the bond that made it necessary.

The modern social system has removed the economic tie of the family by scattering its members to divergent and scattered interests. Women are more capable of self-support and men are therefore under less constraint, and by reason of the increased cost of life less willing, to support a woman they no longer love. Economic stress has heightened individualism and keyed up the nervous system, thus unsettling the equilibrium of the home. Higher age of marriage means the mating of persons whose habits are relatively fixed. "The democratic spirit of self determination" seeks to loosen

[195] Milwaukee *Leader* news item dated St. Louis, July 1 [1913]: "Poverty Blamed as Divorce Cause by St. Louis Judge."

bonds that no longer command the assent of the will. Men and women live increasingly for pleasure; the age of surplus has eliminated asceticism; people believe in the pursuit of happiness and take little stock in renunciation.

The shifting of social levels factors in alienation. When prosperity and affluence have brought new possibilities, the husband or the wife may cling to the old ways to the disgust of the other partner. The prestige of the fashionable set and the increasing numbers of divorced persons tend to wipe out prejudice against the practice. Simplification of legal process has thrown it open to the masses. Moreover ethical standards in America are continually in flux owing to the rapidity of basic economic changes and the infiltration of new peoples. Mechanistic foundations of progress have abolished or at least weakened the religious bond of marriage and of duty. A large element is developing in our population, largely the descendants of foreign parents, who recognize no religious sanction whatever. Many of the immigrants of course are Roman Catholics and come from countries where the divorce habit is weaker, hence the divorce-rate is much higher among native whites than among the foreign born.[196]

The fact that American marriage has been less entangled than European in property relations has facilitated divorce. Parents not having given a girl a dowry can receive her back into the home without robbing the other children. Moreover the fact that marriage is an individual affair rather than the union of families is an important simplification of the situation when divorce is under consideration. The very fact that marriage can be entered on youthful infatuation with-

[196] Ellwood. "Sociology and modern social Problems," 119.

out much counsel from older heads may be responsible for breaks. Idle wives, too, become discontented and go astray.

The divorce movement is largely a part of feminism. Women rather than men have been the serious sufferers from marital evils and their revolt is marked. For the forty-year period covered by authentic information, two-thirds of all divorces were granted on demand of the wife. The new ideals of woman are in conflict with the old despotism of the husband. A considerable factor in woman's protest must be the new knowledge about venereal disease, so that divorce is sought as an escape from the pollution of marriage intercourse. No one can doubt that in so far as recourse to divorce is due to unwillingness to sustain marital relations with unfit men it is a movement for the good of the family. The fact of woman's access to industry must be a prime factor in opening to her the possibility of separation from husband. In the western states, where women are scarce, wives have of course another reason for willingness to seek divorce, viz. the fair chance of remarriage. It is noteworthy, also, that the West, always regardful of women, has been liberal in its divorce policy. Of significance also is the fact that in both twenty-year periods for which statistics are at hand, the percentage of divorces granted to the wife was lowest in the South.

It seems scarcely probable that increase of divorce is due to growth of sex vice. It is probable that on the whole sexual morality in America has improved and is improving, though of course one can not be very confident as to such change and the last generation has doubtless witnessed depravation in some quarters. Certainly American divorce does not indicate extraordi-

nary lack of marital fidelity; married life is certainly purer than in Europe. Wives are not courted as they have been in France; even in the poorer classes, wifely fidelity is highly prized. To a considerable extent, divorce is in the interest of the deeper sanctity of life which demands the cessation of relationships that have ceased to be ties of the spirit. Divorce for the sake of immediate remarriage is less frequent than many suppose.

Apparently the divorce-rate is much higher among childless couples than among those with children. The parental instinct is still a strong tie to bind husband and wife together. It is hardly safe to assume, however, that the childlessness was the cause of the divorce; it may be merely symptomatic of fundamental alienation that removed all desire to have children.

As yet we have supplied no new elements of family integrity to take the place of the passing economic and religious ties. Wide spread of liberal ideas about life in general is normal to a period of general change during which old standards snap before the new have grown strong. While marriage is in the state of flux it is not strange that it should be looked upon more and more as an experiment that can not fairly be allowed to settle the life destiny of two more or less irresponsible persons.

Though in 1885 this country had more divorces than all the rest of "the Christian civilized world" taken together and in 1905 the discrepancy was considerably greater, it must not be supposed that the increase of divorce is solely an American phenomenon. The 1889 report indicated that nearly the same rate of increase was present in Europe as a whole, and in Canada, as in the United States. The report of 1909 showed that

there was, with few exceptions, an increase throughout the civilized world far greater than the increase in population. The problem is simply more accentuated in the United States than in most other countries.

In our treatment of marriage and divorce the issue is between the "revocable contract" theory and the "social institution" theory. As Bourget remarked in the early nineties: "In certain western codes the rupture of the marriage tie is not much more complicated than the purchase of a piece of ground." Today divorce laws vary from that of South Carolina, where divorce is absolutely prohibited by the constitution and that of New York where only one cause – adultery – is recognized, to some extremely liberal western codes where divorce may be had for any one of a host of causes. The law of Washington a few years ago allowed the court to grant divorce "for any cause deemed by it sufficient, and when it shall be satisfied that the parties can no longer live together." The extreme laxity of procedure in American courts has been severely criticized. The United States numbers its divorce courts by the thousand while England has had but one, and France and Germany a very few each. But very few divorces are granted on trivial grounds. From 1867 to 1886 over ninety-seven per cent of all divorces were granted for these six causes: adultery, desertion, cruelty, imprisonment for crime, habitual drunkenness, neglect on the part of the husband to provide for his family. Over sixty per cent were granted for adultery or desertion. From 1867 to 1906 over ninety-four per cent were granted for the six principal causes and over fifty-five per cent for adultery and desertion, while in other cases adultery and desertion combined with other causes, making a total of over sixty-two per cent.

The procedure essential to the reëstablishment of family stability does not, as frequently supposed, consist primarily in the augmentation of the stringency of civil or ecclesiastical repression. South Carolina, for instance, prohibits divorce yet

> South Carolina has found it necessary to regulate by law the proportion of his property which a married man may give to the woman with whom he has been living in violation of the law. As late as 1899, the courts were called upon to apply this law in order to protect the rights of the wedded wife and her children, in a case in which it appeared that both the husband and the wife had been living in adultery since the separation.[197]

The reintegration of the family (if such a thing be possible) involves a line of procedure that has scarcely begun to be contemplated, viz. a fundamental social reconstruction. Our economic system requires readjustment so as to remove the abnormal pressure on the working-class family, the abnormal strain on the middle-class family, and the fatty degeneration of the upper-class family. Clearly, before full responsibility for lapses from loyalty can be placed on the individuals directly concerned, economic exploitation must be entirely abolished.

Next to the policy of social reconstruction, the broadest measure of progress will be the development and propagation of a new conception of marriage to correspond to the new social order. There was a time when marriage meant the absorption of the woman's personality in that of the man. Today we are approximating a condition in which many husbands and wives scarcely touch each other let alone merge, but rather strain apart as far as the bonds of matrimony will allow. Municipal Judge Gemmill of Chicago in the

[197] Judge Stevens, cited in Lichtenberger, *Divorce*, 145.

Illinois *Law Review* in 1914, says: "Just in proportion as women have emerged from servility to equality with men, and as the home has become elevated and become the center of the state, have the grounds for divorce been liberalized and the number of divorces increased." He sees in the prevalence of divorce a sign of progress and of the elevation of women and the home. "The states that have the lowest percentage of illiteracy and are the most progressive in their law-making show the largest percentage of divorces."

The marriage of the future will be recognized to be a psychic union of man and woman on a basis of absolute equality and rights in every respect. This will make possible a comradeship that could not exist between superior and inferior. When the right of one member to be a despot ceases to be recognized in any degree, a start will have been made at establishing the family on a sane basis. This is a matter for education of public opinion as well as legal action. Society must pursue a definite policy of education for marriage. This should include the instruction of the youth of both sexes in the nature of the sex-life, the meaning and purpose of marriage, and the reciprocal duties of the sexes. The aim should be to cultivate in each sex its essential qualities and to lead both to insist on a single standard of morality in the sex life. Girls should be trained in the principles and practice of household administration and both sexes should be brought to see that woman's function therein is one of economic productivity. Society should restrict marriage to the fit and safeguard all in the industrial world so that each fit person can afford to marry. As success of marriage is said to bear a direct relation to length of acquaintance before marriage it seems advisable to require the filing of a dec-

laration of intention a considerable time in advance of the issuance of a license. Ministers should be restrained from marrying persons with whom they are not acquainted, save on the sponsorship of responsible individuals. No form of marriage should be recognized that does not conform to the above requirements.

Some indication of the significance of the foregoing considerations may be found in the country's experience with "Gretna Greens." New Jersey was at one time notorious for its Camden marriages. Many from Philadelphia and vicinity went to that city to be married without license. For two years Camden County averaged 4,785 marriages, six or seven times its normal quota. In the next two years, after a license law had been enacted, marriages in that county averaged only 1,083. In 1899 Wisconsin introduced a marriage license law requiring license to be issued at least five days before marriage. Milwaukee marriages fell off nearly forty per cent and those for the state, about fifteen per cent, while marriages in Michigan increased almost as much as the loss in Wisconsin less the increase in Chicago. For some years prior to 1908 Rhode Island had served many of the people of Massachusetts. In 1906, five hundred twenty-three couples from the latter state took out licenses in Providence alone.[198]

The significance of migratory marriages is suggested by a news item of a few years ago:

> The Reverend D. E. Long, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Menominee, has announced his resignation. Several hundred Wisconsin couples will take more or less interest in the announcement because the Reverend Mr. Long might well be known as the "marrying parson." Owing to the fact that no wait is necessary under Michigan laws after a marriage license

[198] National League for Protection of the Family. *Report for 1908*, 12-13; *for 1907*, 10-11.

is issued, hundreds of eloping couples, and couples wanting secrecy, have visited Menominee in the past five or six years to have the knot tied. Outside of those who patronize the justices of the peace, the Reverend Mr. Long is believed to have had the largest number of ceremonies. At one time Justice Vandenberg of Menominee gave trading stamps with all marriage certificates.

If national uniformity in respect to any item of family law is desirable, surely a uniform marriage law would be one of the first desiderata.

On November 1, 1911, after three years of work, preceded by two or three of tentative study by commissions appointed by the governors of the states, a proposed uniform marriage law was submitted to the public, having been worked out with great care after criticisms and suggestions by jurists and others from every part of the United States. It was confined to the regulation of marriage and marriage licenses and did not profess to be so nearly ideal as were the codes of some European countries but it did offer an approach toward the ideal along the line of the trend of American law on the subject. A brief summary of some chief points is as follows:

Insistence on a license in all cases, but with proper qualifications, as in case of marriages innocently contracted without license. All so-called common-law marriages were to be made void. License could issue only in prescribed jurisdiction where one of the parties resided. Except in certain cases of emergency, application for license must be made five days in advance of its issue. Facts as to nationality, color, and occupation must be given. The certificate of the dissolution, by death or divorce, of a former marriage must accompany the application. The persons must be properly identified and law as to marriageable age strictly ob-

served. Notice of the application must be posted in the license office and provision was made for objections to the marriage. Issue of license would not remove legal disabilities. A certificate of marriage in prescribed form should be issued in duplicate and one copy be returned for filing, the license itself being recorded. The license docket should be open for inspection or copying. Provision was made for the legitimation of illegitimate children in certain cases.

In the matter of divorce legislation and procedure the proper guiding principle is found in the fact that marriage is neither a private contract nor a spiritual sacrament but a social institution, an agency to be utilized for the general good. Procedure in divorce cases should be studied and deliberate, giving time for friends and possibly authorities to exhaust the possibilities of reconciliation. Laws as to residence, notification of respondent, and proof of charges should be strict. The case should not be allowed to degenerate into a criminal prosecution. Trial should be before a special court composed of experts, preferably both men and women.

At the time when the Divorce Reform League was organized,

> Nearly everybody, except President Woolsey, was looking to an amendment of the Constitution of the United States as the only way to uniform divorce laws. Nobody then thought of a uniform marriage law. The common opinion then was that nine-tenths of all the divorces in the country were due to migration for the purpose.[199]

But statistics show that uniformity of divorce statute is not the issue. The propaganda for national uniformity is very well, but it is incidental rather than fundamental in importance and care must be taken that it shall

[199] Dike. *Review of Twenty-five Years*, 11.

not take place along lines of universal laxity or of reaction toward antiquated standards. In every case the situation must be judged as a whole in view of the interests of all concerned. Special strictness should be observed in the case of applicants with children. In many instances reconciliation should be attempted by proper officials. In certain cases also, society should require a separation irrespective of the initiative of the parties. Whether aside from such cases where society in the interest of the race must require separation, it will be advisable to multiply causes for dissolving the marriage relation, is doubtful. In his *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, published in 1904, Howard writes:

> Decided progress has been made during the last twenty years. Within this period the foundation of what may sometime become a common and effective divorce code for the whole Union has slowly been laid. Little by little . . . more stringent provisions for notice have been made, longer terms for previous residence for the plaintiff required, and more satisfactory conditions of remarriage after the decree prescribed; while some of the "omnibus" clauses in the list of statutory causes have been repealed. Much of the best of this work has been accomplished, it is but just to record, through the activity of the National Divorce Reform League and its successor, the National League for the Protection of the Family.

The tendency in this country seems now to be in the direction of tightening the laws of marriage and divorce and much is to be said in favor of increasing the restriction. There is not much ground for supposing that people marry with the definite thought of divorce in reserve; yet the idea is continually being instilled into the subconscious and is likely to result in greater carelessness in entering matrimony. Moreover a good law may discourage hasty and ill-considered resort to the divorce courts, which evidently sometimes proves a mistake, judging by the cases of remarriage of divorced

persons to each other. Judge W. J. Turner of Milwaukee declared in 1913 that "fully fifty per cent of the divorces in Milwaukee county are due to the meddling of neighbors or other outsiders and not to any real desire of those seeking divorce to separate." He advised that all divorce actions should be brought by the state and only after a county attorney appointed for the purpose had decided that there was no other solution of the problem.[200]

Too great strictness leads to disregard of law and illicit union, as seen in England. Moreover it probably makes little difference whether the causes allowed are many or few, for people determined to separate can produce the necessary cause. More hinges on the administration of the law. It will be necessary to conduct lengthy experiments with various sorts of law before final certainty as to the ideal procedure can be reached.

Divorce without opportunity to remarry is subject to grave danger. Remarriage of divorced persons may be preferable to concubinage.

We may say with reasonable assurance that the divorce policy in this country will move in the following lines: 1. Greater uniformity among the states. 2. A tightening of the system so as to leave less to the discretion of incompetent judges, to slow the process of divorce, and to diminish the number of causes for which divorce may be granted. 3. Grant of privilege to remarry to the innocent party; and perhaps, in certain cases, a penalty upon the guilty. 4. Suppression of newspaper purveying of divorce scandals. 5. Greater safeguards about the entrance of matrimony so that all

[200] Milwaukee *Leader* news item dated Madison, Wis., Dec. 30 [1913]: "Meddlers Cause half of Divorce, asserts Turner."

that can be ascertained unfit will be excluded. 6. The development of a new conception of marriage and the family suited to changed industrial and social conditions. This together with a reconstruction of society on a democratic basis will work toward a solution of the divorce problem. Meanwhile more careful study of facts is in order. In 1877 only four states gave statistics on divorce; at the end of 1905 the number was only ten.

The spread of the "scientific management" movement for economic efficiency should have a large bearing on the problem of divorce. Employers are coming to recognize the importance of family troubles as an element in inefficiency. The influence of divorce upon productivity of adults and the development of children and thus upon the interests of property must be very considerable. In general the burden and expense of divorce and of its consequences is a noteworthy reduction of social efficiency that should direct the attention of administrators to the economics of the problem.

XIII. THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH[201]

As guardians of morals the clergy and the church have from the beginning figured in the question of the American family. They have not always kept their bearings in this regard and in many cases even now doubtless have very inadequate perspective in viewing the problem. Their influence has, nevertheless, been conspicuous if not as effective as they desired. The radicalism of the Puritans in respect to secularization was only a temporary disturbance of the ecclesiastical participation in the marriage ceremony and from the early days the churches have felt it within their province to exert influence over marriage and the family, whether by the promulgation of theories of the marital relation, by encouraging marriage within the fold, by the establishment of rules for the ceremony, by the regulation, of family life, by the fixing of permissible grounds of divorce, by prescribing regulations as to the remarriage of divorced persons, by the exercise of discipline upon those guilty of irregularities in the sex-life, or recently by sociological studies in the broader aspects of family and society. Not only has the church aspired to influence directly the families under her control but measures have also been taken to secure from the civil power what seemed in churchly eyes better regulations or provisions touching marriage, divorce, and the family. Thus the clergy and the church have been a definite factor in the history of the American

[201] Compare Lichtenberger, *Divorce*, chap. 8.

family. In a *Popular Science Monthly* article of 1909 Cattell said:

> In its methods and results, the school contrasts unfavorably with the church, especially with the unreformed churches and the Hebrew synagog. The sacraments of the church – baptism, confirmation, marriage, burial – are closely interwoven with family life; its services, ceremonies, fasts, and fêtes are shared together by parents and children. In spite of inconsistencies in creed and practice, the religious institutions both of the West and East tend by their observances, and by their non-rational sanctions strongly to support the family.

As regards the theory of marriage and the family there has been among the more prominent denominations an underlying agreement. The church has regarded marriage as a divine institution surrounded by religious sanctions and with a spiritual content and ideal. The family has been looked upon as the unit of society, the spring of church and state, the center and nucleus of the forces of righteousness. The Rock River Methodist Episcopal conference of 1912 is reported to have declared that "the safeguarding of the home is the chief business of the state." Naturally, also, in view of scriptural sources, the patriarchal theory has been tacitly or explicitly accepted, by the stricter denominations at least, until recent times. The general unity of thought among religious denominations as to the nature of marriage and the family will be disclosed by a comparison of their respective views. It may be observed also that churches have maintained the sense of family integrity beyond death by mass, cemeteries, etc.

The Catholic Church, while holding celibacy to be a more honorable estate than matrimony, has nevertheless elevated marriage to the dignity of a sacrament and raised the family to the plane of the supernatural. "The family is holy inasmuch as it is to coöperate with

God by procreating children who are destined to be the adopted children of God, and by instructing them for his kingdom." A primary requisite is mutual disinterested love. The end and ideal of the Christian family are supernatural. The end is the salvation of parents and children; the ideal is the union between Christ and the church. The husband or wife that shirks, from any but spiritual motives, the primary end of family–procreation–lowers the relations to an unnatural and unChristian level. The welfare of the individual is the end of the family. Only in the family can the individual be properly reared for the larger life of a man and a citizen. The Christian family implies a definite equality of husband and wife, though "the woman was made for the man; not the man for the woman." The wife is neither slave nor property but consort and companion. As the provider and the superior in physical strength and in the qualities appropriate to the exercise of authority, man is naturally head of the family. The wife is to obey her husband in the Lord but she is morally independent, accountable for her own deeds. The care and management of the details of the household belong to the wife because she is better fitted for these than is her husband.

> Through the sacrament of matrimony husband and wife obtain an increase of sanctifying grace, and a claim upon those actual graces which are necessary to the proper fulfillment of all the duties of family life, and all the relations between husband and wife, parents and children, are supernaturalized and sanctified.[202]

Doctor Dix of the Trinity Episcopal Church in the *Calling of a Christian Woman* defines "the teachings of our Mother the Church of God, on the subject of

[202] Compare Ryan, "Family": in *Catholic Encyclopedia*; "Woman Question": in *Catholic World*, vol. ix, 147.

Holy Matrimony." After speaking of marriage as a divine institution which indissolubly merges man and woman, he says: "The union of the husband and wife is effected . . . by Divine power. It is 'a great mystery,' a great sacrament." The wife is to the husband as the Church is to Christ. "Marriage is honorable, holy, blessed of God, the joy of angels, the bond of peace and of all virtues."

Making allowance for the manifest idealization in this Catholic theory of the family, one finds it not greatly different from the Protestant theory. The latter has in it less of mysticism and denies that marriage is a "sacrament" but it is not evident whether in this denial the reformed churches are really doing much more than quibbling about words and names. Even Presbyterians can call marriage "an holy estate" and pronounce "the family life in a deep sense a sacrament."[203] Likewise in the *Lutheran Church Review* of 1909 occurred the statement that "marriage itself, like the state, like the family, and like man, is not chiefly a physical condition, but is a spiritual institution, ordained and appointed by God, founded on spiritual principles and for the maintenance and regulation of which there are certain unchangeable spiritual laws." The aim of procreation is declared to be the building up of a race with not merely perfect physique and mentality but also perfect spirituality. The family is "the great and fundamental institution in social life." Its stability and purity are the foundation of the moral and spiritual order of mankind. In it one may find the paradox of self-surrender and self-realization.[204]

[203] Compare Presbyterian General Assembly, Special Committee on Christian Life and Work. "Report" in the Minutes of the Assembly of 1910, 283.

[204] Schmauk. Editorial in *Lutheran Church Review*, vol. xxviii, 660 ff.

Similarly in the journal of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference for 1884 is found this utterance:

> The sacredness and security of the family institution is at once the product and the support of the church on earth; and the sanctity and permanence of the marriage relation is the cornerstone of the Christian family and home. . . By . . . incorporating into the Christian faith the terms and duties of the marriage relation, the Son of God invested matrimony with a divine dignity. . . To lesson the sacredness of marriage . . . is to profane the names our Savior delights to wear. . . Marriage was "instituted of God" and is a holy estate.

A writer in the *Methodist Review* of 1887, likewise declaring the family a divine institution, adds that its foundation is in the law of nature; it is the molecular unity of society. While the physical basis of marriage is the sex instinct, its spiritual ground is the exclusive preference of husband and wife for each other.

On the whole, we may say that if the Reformation did tend to the extreme of defining marriage as a purely civil contract the reformed churches have pretty thoroughly recovered the ecclesiastical conception of matrimony as a divine ordinance, with spiritual laws, and ideals. In its theory of marriage and the family as a social function, however, the church has been, somewhat conservatively, in touch with the thought of the times.

The church has seen fit to guard in various particulars the door to matrimony. In the Presbyterian church the recurrent question of "forbidden degrees" was revived after the war. In 1879 the question was specifically brought up concerning the old prohibition of marriage with a wife's sister. This was laid on the table. Finally in 1886 an overture was sent down which resulted in the elimination from the *Confession*

of the clause: "The man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own, nor the woman of her husband's kindred nearer in blood than of her own." Only eleven presbyteries out of two hundred and two sent in a negative vote.

The Assembly of 1885 took occasion to condemn loose views and practices in marriage and called on leaders to warn the young. Ministers were urged to great caution in marrying persons and the legislatures were called on to pass careful laws against hasty and improper marriages. In the session of 1905 the committee on the marriage question declared that "every minister should know, before he performs a marriage ceremony, that the relation proposed has the sanction of his church and the sanction of the Word of God."

A Lutheran editor a few years ago expressed a strong opinion that the marriage ceremony must be made once more preëminently a religious transaction. He thinks that the church has failed to distinguish between marriage as a Christian institution and marriage as a mere social institution and that much harm has resulted. He thinks that people should be married by the minister because he is the *pastor* and not because he is a delegated *functionary* of the state.

> It is a question to our mind whether a Lutheran pastor ought to solemnize marriages simply because he is authorized to do so by the laws of the state, and outside of the ranks of those who recognize and acknowledge his pastoral authority. . . A revival of the practice requiring the publication of the banns might be regarded as a return to medievalism; but it would have a most salutary effect.[205]

Of late the Roman Catholic Church has put in force a drastic regulation of the marriage ceremony. This law was proclaimed in 1907. It provided that all over the

[205] Schmauk. Editorial in *Lutheran Church Review*, vol. xxviii, 664-667.

world after the following Easter only those marriages may be considered valid and canonical that are contracted in a writing signed by both the parties, and by either the parish priest or the ordinary or at least by two witnesses if a priest can not be found. The celebrant must ascertain that one of the parties has lived for at least a month in the place where the marriage is to be performed or else procure the consent of the priest or ordinary of the parish of one of them. Where danger of death is imminent and the conditions can not be met and it is desired to provide for the relief of conscience or the legitimation of offspring the marriage may occur before any priest and two witnesses, or if the required functionaries can not be procured for the space of a month the marriage may be made by a formal declaration by the spouses in the presence of two non-clerical witnesses. The provisions are binding on Catholics who marry non-Catholics even after dispensation for such marriage is obtained, unless the Holy See decrees otherwise.[206]

This assumption of authority over mixed marriages is a bone of contention. The Episcopal diocese of Pittsburg on May 23, 1912 passed this resolution:

> Whereas an attempt is now being made by the Church of Rome to enforce in the United States the *ne temere* decree of the pope, whereby mixed marriages, performed by secular officials or non-Roman ministers are to be declared null and void in sight of the Roman church . . . therefore be it resolved, that we enter our indignant protest against this attack of a foreign ecclesiastical power upon the sanctity of marriages performed outside of its own communion, and in contravention also of the laws of the United States.[207]

A movement got under way some years since (Dean

[206] "Change in Catholic Law of Marriage": in *Harper's Weekly*, vol. li, 1407.

[207] *Christian Nation*, May 29, 1912, p. 12.

Sumner at its head) to refuse to marry any that can not bring a physician's certificate of physical fitness. Two hundred ministers of the federated churches in Chicago approved it. The Federal Council of Churches of Chicago adopted the following resolution:

> We recognize the urgent need of a more careful inquiry on the part of ministers into the previous relations and the present estate, both physical and domestic, of those who apply for the solemnization of marriage. We are aware that a minister's attitude toward these questions must in most cases be a matter of personal conscience or of denominational regulation, and that it is impossible for a body of this character to legislate for its individual members. Yet we insist upon the fact that the attitude of the ministry to the question of divorce, and also to that of the physical and moral right of the contracting parties to enter upon the duties of this solemn bond and covenant, will go far toward the establishment of a standard of conduct on the part of the community. We urge, therefore, that all ministers within this fellowship study with renewed earnestness the problem of their responsibility for the physical fitness, moral standing, and future happiness of those who request their service in the ordinance of marriage.

The committee on moral issues at the one hundred tenth annual meeting of the Massachusetts Congregational Conference brought in a report favoring the policy of requiring a physician's certificate. The Rock River Methodist Conference of 1912 advocated physical examination of parties about to enter the marriage state. In the same year the Lutheran Synodical Conference, New Jersey Branch went on record against the issuance of marriage licenses save to those with physician's certificate of fitness and at the Kansas Congregational Conference a hundred ministers voted unanimously in favor of refusing marriage save on a physician's certificate. Such actions are symptomatic of the trend among a considerable element of the clergy.

The Reverend Henry M. Sanders of New York, who doubted "whether the Church can wisely do more than exert its influence in that direction by means of education," thought that as marriage is a civil contract, "the State can better exercise this supervision, under the direction of the medical profession, than the Church." But the Reverend William H. Foulkes of New York was not sure of the benefit of this legislation. He said:

> My own regretful conclusion is that such a law as this, striking at the very passionate root of self-interest, would be most craftily and incessantly violated, in view of the common disrespect for law and order. Besides all this, we can not afford to give any false sense of security to the young women of our land. Motherhood has enough of tragedy without finally being immolated upon the altar of venereal disease and its fiery sacrifice, when such a catastrophe apparently had been made impossible by law. . .
>
> Enlightenment of mind, quickening of conscience, and, best of all, the creation of a clean heart, are the only things that will bring freedom to those who are smitten and stricken by the foul scourge of the black plague.[208]

In 1913 the ministerial union of Pittsburg endorsed a bill requiring possession of a doctor's certificate before a marriage license would be granted.

The recent tendency on the part of the churches to put restrictions on the entrance to matrimony is due to the rise of the divorce question and the resultant investigations of marriage. The churches have all along had their doctrines of divorce but these have, with the urgency of the divorce problem, assumed new importance although the churches have changed very little in their fundamental position. We may summarize briefly. The Roman Church holds marriage to be absolutely indissoluble. Her doctrine of "impedi-

[208] See: "Church's Stand for Purity:" in *Literary Digest*, June 29, 1912, 1349-1350.

ments" however has furnished a convenient substitute in the annulment of "illicit" marriages. The Protestant Episcopal Church considers marriage indissoluble save by adultery. The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1884 adopted a similar ruling. The discipline of the Presbyterian Church specifies adultery and wilful desertion as legitimate grounds for divorce. Attempts have been made to strike out the second ground but without result. The Lutheran Church has been slightly more liberal, assigning the same two causes but disposed to interpret malicious desertion so as to include habitual cruelty. Some theologians broadened out the principles so as to include, *e.g.* impotence, conspiracy against life, habitual drunkenness. The Congregational Church has no central authority, but the National Council in 1880 "deplored the dissolution of the bonds of marriage, except for the one cause mentioned by our Savior." A report accepted by the convention of 1898 pins the church to Christ's teaching in *Matthew*, xix. A supplementary report by Dr. S. W. Dike, which was likewise accepted, took a broad view asserting that one should be "cautious of any deliverance of the church which does not make full use of the resources of modern scholarship." The report in 1907 of the Committee on the Family said:

> We find no historical ground for the contention that easy divorce has increased social purity or happiness, but that restlessness, sexual laxity, temptation to other attachments, corruption of home atmosphere, and selfishness instead of public well-being cause or accompany this social peril. . . The rising call of "Back to Christ" is imperative.

In the same report we are informed that "Felix Adler, ethical culturist, within a year has published views, not from exegesis, but from moral considerations, more radically conservative than any Protestant writer in

twenty-five years has drawn even from Scripture." Adler's view was in fact an argument against all divorce, tho he conceded the privilege of separation.[209]

It is indeed remarkable what slight concessions (in theory) the leading denominations have made to the demand for easy divorce. It remains to be seen how they view the divorce situation and how they apply their theories of divorce. It will appear that while the Protestant churches have shown much concern over the increase of divorce, their efforts to cope with the evil have consisted largely of official warnings and of exhortation to the clergy to preach against it and to refuse to celebrate marriage in certain cases. Pious homilies tucked away in the minutes of official bodies are of dubious value. It should be recognized however that some of the liberal Christians have made some room for sociology and have escaped from the bondage of old-fashioned Biblical exegesis.

For the Roman Church Doctor Ryan speaks in the *Catholic Encyclopedia.* He says: "Experience seems to show that there can be no permanent middle ground between the materialistic ideal of divorce, so easy that the marital union will be terminated at the will of the parties, and the Catholic ideal of marriage absolutely indissoluble." He thinks that "the frequent appeal to the divorce courts by American women . . . is undoubtedly due more to emotion, imaginary hopes, and a hasty use of newly acquired freedom than to calm and adequate study of the experience of other divorced women." The indissolubility of marriage under the Roman Catholic Church, together with its monogamic character, "promotes in the highest degree the welfare of parents and children, and stimulates in the whole

[209] Adler. *Marriage and Divorce,* 43-59.

community the practice of those qualities of self-restraint and altruism which are essential to social well being, physical, mental and moral."[210]

In the 1889 Report of the Commissioner of Labor the grounds on which the Roman Catholic Church will allow a severance of marriage are given as follows:

> A valid Christian marriage, not consummated, may be dissolved by the spiritual death of one of the parties, who takes the vows of a religious order; or by a dispensation from the pope.
>
> A marriage between unbelievers becomes dissolved if one of the parties becomes a Christian and makes a valid Christian marriage, *provided* the unconverted unbelieving spouse will not continue the marriage relation or not without reviling the creator.
>
> Perpetual separation in case of valid consummated Christian marriage is permitted on grounds of adultery by either, wilful desertion, entrance of one with permission of the other into a religious order.
>
> Temporary separation on ground of apostacy from Christianity, seduction to vice or felony, cruelty or assault endangering life or health, long standing grievance or mortification, infectious disease of long standing, wilful desertion, violation of duty endangering the civil or property rights of the other.

Cardinal Gibbons in the *North American Review* for 1889 after mentioning the fact that the church justifies separation from bed and board by reason of mutual consent, adultery, and grave peril of soul or body, goes on to say:

> It may be said that there are persons so unhappily mated and so constituted that for them no relief can come save from divorce *a vinculo*, with permission to remarry. I shall not linger here to point out to such the need of seeking from a higher than earthly power the grace to suffer and be strong.

It has been alleged, and not without plausibility, that the Roman Church has on the whole accomplished far

[210] Ryan. "Family," "Marriage:" in *Catholic Encyclopedia.*

more for the integrity of the family than has the Protestant but it is indeed open to question whether she does more by her staunch doctrine and idealistic theory in behalf of family integrity than she has done by her "celibacy" and casuistry and arrogance to undermine the family.

The Protestant Episcopal Church adopted in 1868 a divorce canon as follows:

> No minister of this church shall solemnize matrimony in any case where there is a divorced wife or husband of either party still living; but this Canon shall not be held to apply to the innocent party to a divorce obtained for the cause of adultery, or to parties once divorced seeking to be united again.

Nine years later the convention inserted after the first part of the canon the proviso: "if such husband or wife has been put away for any cause arising after marriage" and also required the clergy to make "due inquiry." Ministers were also directed to secure the judgment of the bishop before administering baptism, confirmation, or communion to persons in whose case there was doubt as to whether marriage had been in conformity to scripture and church discipline; provided, that the sacraments should not be denied to penitents in imminent danger of death. At the convention of 1904 both Houses agreed upon a revision of the canon on Marriage and Divorce. The new law requires ministers to secure the observance of state law governing the civil contract of marriage, to require the presence of two witnesses, to keep a proper register, to make due inquiry as to whether one seeking marriage "has been or is the husband or wife of any person then living, from whom he or she has been divorced for any cause arising after marriage" and if so to refuse marriage save in case of the innocent party to a divorce for adul-

tery, in which case a year must have elapsed since the granting of the divorce, and

> Satisfactory evidence touching the facts in the case, including a copy of the Court's Decree and Record, if practicable, with proof that the defendant was personally served or appeared in the action, be laid before the Ecclesiastical Authority, and such Ecclesiastical Authority, having taken legal advice thereon [must] have declared in writing that in his judgment the case of the applicant conforms to the requirements of this canon.

It is further provided that any minister may decline to solemnize any marriage. The rule as to baptism, confirmation, and communion is retained with the proviso that "these ordinances" shall not be withheld from penitents in imminent danger of death.

Bishop Doane takes more radical ground than that taken by his church. He believes that no divorced person ought to be married again. He would consider it a profanation of the ceremony to marry any such. "It is clearly the Lord's command."

In view of church and priestly stringency it is easy to understand Bishop Potter's assertion of 1889 that "among members of the Protestant Episcopal Church divorce is excessively rare."

At the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1899, the president deplored the frivolity with which marriage, divorce, and remarriage are treated, as for example newspaper jokes in reference to marriages between men and their mothers-in-law or step-mothers; also the contradictory laws of various states. He advised a petition to Congress in behalf of uniform marriage and divorce laws for the whole country. Among the theses proposed for consideration there is a statement that gets to the heart of the matter:

> Divorce cannot annul or dissolve the contract or separate the parties. In its legitimate use, its office is only to declare form-

ally that one party to the contract has already broken it, in violation of Divine Law, and that the other party is, therefore, free from all obligations assumed on entering the holy estate.

Also: To the innocent party belongs the right of remarriage as if the former covenant had never been made. In the president's report of 1905 occurred this statement:

In any consideration of the light and trivial sundering of the marriage bonds we should not lose sight of the fact that many American marriages are not joined together of God, and are not entered into in the fear and love of God. The church should emphasize the importance of this early aspect of the subject.

The same year a final deliverance was published, growing out of the theses of 1899. It contained the following utterances:

We deem it the solemn duty of all pastors to instruct their congregations concerning the permanency of the marriage relation, and to warn against its violation or disparagement, as a crime against God that cannot be mitigated or apologized for by any of the defects of the civil laws or any lowering of the standard . . . on the part of the community. . . We regard every pastor who performs the marriage ceremony as testifying, by that very act, that, so far as he has had opportunity of discovering, after earnest endeavor to ascertain the facts, said marriage is regular and in accordance with God's word; and . . . it is our conviction, further, that in invoking God's blessing upon the union he becomes participant in the guilt if he be without reasonable assurance that both parties to the contract comply with the divine requirements. . . We teach that the licenses, issued by the state, and compliance with every civil requirement, while indispensable, cannot of themselves be a guide to the conscience of either pastors or individual Christians. . . With reference to . . . the marriage of divorced persons, the General Council recommends to its District Synods to insist on the following uniform practice of all pastors, to wit: that pastors decline to marry any person who has a husband or wife living, unless such person

> shall have been divorced by due process of law from such husband or wife for the cause of adultery or wilful desertion; and in that case that pastors consent to marry only the innocent party . . . and then not until the expiration of a year after the divorce shall have been granted.

Similar action regarding marriage of divorced persons (with a more liberal interpretation of the grounds, so as to include "such extreme cruelty as may be included under the same principle") was taken by another Lutheran body (the General Synod) in 1907. A Lutheran editor discussing the question wrote in the *Lutheran Church Review* of 1909:

> The modern difficulty is not with the institution of marriage itself, but with the low ideals, the gross views, and the selfish natures of those who wish to bring to the institution less than its highest requirement.

He points out the forgotten fact that there is a "solemn obligation to God" and "to the state inherent in the act of forming a family" and deprecates the notion that "each individual is to be allowed to regard his latest inner sentiment as the dictate of righteousness to be carried into effect." "Those who have neither religious beliefs, nor faith in contracts still use" the religious ceremony or the civil form, "and sometimes both, in making a marriage ceremony which is nothing but a mockery." Pastors must instruct thoroly and draw the line sharply "between marriages which are regarded merely as a matter of personal sentiment without any religious background, and marriages which realize and intend to fulfil the social, spiritual, and religious responsibilities which are involved in the very nature of the institution itself."[211]

The Presbyterian General Assembly of 1869 expressed pain at the increasing prevalence of unscrip-

[211] Schmauk. Editorial in *Lutheran Church Review*, vol. xxviii, 662-667.

tural views of marriage, consequent divorces on trivial grounds, and the alarming prevalence of infanticide and abortion. Attention was called to the growing devotion to fashion and luxury and pleasure as a cause of the evils. Ministers were urged to instruct the people as to the scriptural doctrine of marriage and warned "against joining in wedlock any who may have been divorced upon other than scriptural grounds. We also enjoin upon church sessions the exercise of due discipline in the case of those members who may be guilty of violating the law of Christ in this particular." Those guilty of abortion are warned "that, except they repent, they cannot inherit eternal life."

> All who seek to avoid the responsibilities and cares connected with the bringing up of children not only deprive themselves of one of the greatest blessings of life, and fly in the face of God's decrees, but do violence to their own natures, and will be found out of their sins even in this world.

The Assembly of 1883 reiterated the lament at desecration of marriage by unscriptural divorce laws and urged "all proper measures to correct this wide-spread evil." In 1885 loose views and practices on marriage were again condemned and leaders urged to warn the young. Ministers were urged to great caution in marrying persons; and hasty and improper marriages were indicated as a great occasion of divorce. Again and again the question comes up for action. In 1903 the committee reported that

> The state is imperiled, the family is threatened, and the church, the guardian of both, too frequently puts its seal and sanction upon unrighteous relationships, does not refuse its sacraments to those who lightly regard the sacred bonds of marriage, and for reasons not recognized in God's word, separate themselves and seek new alliances. . . The conviction is deepening that something should be done to save society and the state from the

terrible consequences of lax legislation, which disregards the law of God and the protest of the Church.

This Assembly enjoined

All ministers under its care and authority to refuse to perform the marriage ceremony in the cases of divorced persons except as such persons have been divorced upon ground and for cause recognized as Scriptural in the Standards of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America.

In 1904 it was asserted that

Civil authority is not sufficient sanction for ministers and members of the church of Christ. Unless the discipline of the church can prevent its ministers from putting the seal of the church upon unholy alliances, and can prevent its members from making such unholy alliances, it will be useless to expect the State to regard our protests or to listen to our appeals for reform.

(This idea is reiterated later over and over again.) At the same time ministers were advised to respect the regulations of other churches represented in the Interchurch Conference and not to marry people who are thus violating the law of their own church, unless for special good reason it seems right to marry them.

In 1905,

The stated clerk was instructed to call the special attention of presbyteries to the action of the General Assembly regarding the marriage of divorced persons, and to request the presbyteries to exercise such needful oversight and discipline as may be required. . . We have not been without example of continued laxity, but we have had no signs of "needful oversight and discipline."

In 1908 the committee suggests that "surely the Protestant church should not show a laxity that would suggest that those held as culprits in the Roman Catholic Church might find refuge within her communion."

It would rather seem that the day of "discipline" in the Protestant churches is past; yet we find other de-

nominations making attempts similar to those already cited. Thus the Methodist Episcopal General Conference of 1884 declared

> The ease, frequency, and readiness with which divorces are procured is appalling. . . Boys and girls are not likely to look with abhorrence upon an act if they see their fathers and mothers freely associating with those who practice it. The young wife will hardly regard her marriage vows as sacred, if she sees the pastor before whom they were pronounced uniting at the same altar an immorally divorced woman to another husband. . . All citizens and all churches should be invoked to aid in rescuing marriage and the family institution from degradation and destruction. [Ministers should be scrupulous in official conduct, and by due exhortation strive to call people back to a proper appreciation of the marriage relation and its obligations. It was ordered] that no divorce shall be recognized as lawful by the church except for adultery. And no minister shall solemnize marriage in any case where there is a divorced wife or husband living; but the rule shall not apply to the innocent party in a divorce for the cause of adultery, nor to divorced parties seeking to be reunited in marriage.

The question has received further attention since.

The National Congregational Council previous to 1883 had taken action on the divorce question. Attention was directed to it once more in that year. In more recent years committees have brought in thoughtful reports. The Reverend Daniel Merriman made the report of the Committee on Marriage and Divorce in 1892. This study seeks sociological setting for the problems of the family. It says

> The family, if not based upon, is yet intimately connected with present forms of private rent and property; and when private ownership ceases and the individual is wholly lost in the state, it is difficult to see what possible security there is for the permanence of the conjugal relation or what space is left for the home. . . Entirely apart from socialist theories, the truth is that the present facts respecting the acquisition and disposition

of property, a slowly rising material standard of living, and the increasing inter-sexual competition for place due to the great enlargement of the field of activities for women, in some serious ways are exercising a hostile pressure upon the family both from below and from above. From below, on the part of the poor, by putting the expense of maintaining the true home often beyond the reach of the wage-earner; inclining if not compelling him, on account of the organization of labor, to the congested districts, and the lodging or tenement house; and setting him, his wife and children if he have them, in separate factories or shops to win their bread, thus deterring from marriage, weakening all family ties and opening easy temptation to that which is illicit and irregular. From above, on the part of the rich, by increasing the extravagance, complication and difficulty of domestic life, making the rich bachelor more content with his club and outside connection, the rich and unscrupulous husband able to sustain two or more families, none of which are genuine, and disinclining the married women of wealth and fashion to children or their care.

Much of the very mechanism of our modern life, in its aspects of property, is thus destructive of the family; the facilities and necessities of business movements; the clerk or laborer living in the distant suburb and working in the city, and so never seeing his children except on Sundays and holidays; the commercial traveller marrying and after a few weeks leaving his young wife to the temptations of a boarding-house while he runs off for months on the road to be both tempted and a tempter in other boarding-houses; the opportunities for that which at least tends towards licentiousness afforded by the employment of multitudes of young women, far from their parents, in great commercial or manufacturing houses, often at well nigh starvation wages, the rapid increase of apartment house and hotel life – these are some of the aspects of the present social order inimical to the promotion and integrity of the family, which are largely the outcome of economic forces – the result of deep movements respecting property. . . Many of the dangers referred to are incidental to the rapid growth of this century in improved commercial and social life.

[Attention is given also to drink, crimes against chastity, the seduction of base literature and art], hasty, ill-assorted and

bad marriages, which ignorance, fashion, greed, or lust promote; and on the other hand an indisposition to marriage or a disposition to postpone it beyond the most sentimental period of life; [polygamy, prostitution, abortion; perversion of physiological knowledge of sex relation; growth of facile and shameless divorce. Mention is made of the] growth, during recent years, of social organizations, open and secret, secular and sacred within and without the church, and which while by no means always evil in themselves, or directly intended to weaken the family and undermine the home, are in fact often the most powerful and dangerous enemies of both, because they tend to take the place of both, while incapable of performing the functions of either. [The church adopts the spirit of organization. Children are taken out of home influence into that of untrained youth. Parents cease to exercise their responsibility. Home atrophies.]

The report notes the development within the preceding fifteen years of earnest interest in family problems. It recommends the securing and enforcement of good marriage laws, the discouragement of bad marriages and the encouragement of good, efforts to check divorce by proper measures, instruction of youth in the meaning and sacredness and joy of marriage, training to personal purity, support to authorities in punishment of crimes against chastity, suppression of panders to licentiousness, the magnifying of family and home. It recognizes the need of scientific guidance, and of sociological study in seminaries, and declares that the pulpit and the religious press should give more space to the problem; prayer-meetings and Sabbath schools should study it.

The committee of 1895 calls attention to "intrinsic evils endangering the institution of the family," such as, wide-spread ignorance of the function of the family; extensive carnality; increase of intemperance; hasty marriage; refusal to assume maternity; illicit gratifica-

tion; abortion; vicious sentiment concerning the nature and dissolution of marriage; divorce sought "upon grounds utterly at variance with the idea that marriage is a sacred covenant entered into according to God's holy ordinance;" resorts away from the home; hotel, apartment, and boarding-house life; the system of commercial travelling; temptation, from ambition, to restrict number of children; selfish refusal to marry; girls in industry acquiring a distaste for domesticity; wives and mothers at work; socialistic theories; inadequate laws; insistence on "personal rights."

In 1898 Dr. S. W. Dike called the attention of the council (in a committee report which was accepted) to the fact of ministerial laxity. He said:

> Many complaints come to my knowledge that ministers in other communions find their own rules evaded by the readiness with which pastors in Congregational and other churches grant these applications. May it not be well for our own ministers to make it their general rule to refuse to celebrate the marriage of such? Not, it may be, on the ground of any inherent impropriety in the marriage itself, but as a proper respect for the rules of another communion.

In 1904 Professor Graham Taylor made an address showing in broad lines the sociological aspects of the problem of the family. The Council decided to appoint a

> Standing committee on the relation of the church to the present problems of family life; said committee to be charged with the studious inquiry into the material, industrial, educational, and legal conditions upon which the fulfillment of the function of the family depends, and the recommendation of such attitude and action of the churches thereto as their own interests and those of the family alike require.

The declaration of 1907 refuses to "be satisfied merely with civil law as feasible or final in church action." The committee recommended: (1) That ministers

observe comity in not helping members of other churches to violate the regulations of their own churches. (2) That they should refuse to marry divorced persons except the innocent party in a case on scriptural grounds, and then not till one year had elapsed from the granting of the divorce. The following was voted by the Council:

> We express our detestation of frivolous divorce, and we urge our ministers to make strict inquiry in the case of strangers, or of divorced persons applying to them for marriage, to discover whether, under the laws of morality and charity, they are worthy of entering again into that relation from which they may once have been severed.

Thus while the central council has no authority over the local churches it has used its advisory office pointedly.

In the minutes of the 1891 National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian churches occurred the following (in the Address of the Council):

> No remedy for present difficulties is to be sought by an effort to ignore the necessity of divorce, but rather . . . we are to improve our present conditions by making marriage more sacred, and in the utmost care and seriousness in the arrangements of the several states for granting divorces.

At this conference Carroll D. Wright presented a paper on marriage and divorce which was ordered printed and sent to each of the churches with the hope that its recommendations would be embodied in legislation, and also in the conduct of life. Dr. Wright argued that if marriage results in happiness (using the word in no selfish personal sense) the divine end is gained. Otherwise that end is sadly missed and divorce "more perfectly secures the divine end than a continuance of the compact, which may be, under some conditions, the burden to one of the parties of the unholiest prostitu-

tion. . ." Yet "the security of society depends upon the continued sacredness of the civil contract." Most people agree that marriage should be dissolved for the scriptural cause. Why should it? Because adultery perverts the institution, wrecks happiness, and outrages the sentiment of society. If this is the ground of the validity of the scriptural cause, "then whatever cause eventuates in the same results must be logically as adequate." It is possible properly to restrict divorce. Marriage should be made more difficult. It should be considered an offence for an officer or minister to unite reckless persons. We need the enlightenment that comes from the highest ethical culture, more perfect independence of woman, and an appropriate chivalry. Divorce is not a menace to the purity and sacredness of the family. "I believe," said Doctor Wright, "the result will be an enhanced purity, a sublimer sacredness."

Notwithstanding, however, the more liberal sociological outlook of the Unitarians we find the Unitarian church among the fifteen or sixteen leading denominations included in the Interchurch Conference on Marriage and Divorce. This conference grew out of a movement started in 1901 by the Protestant Episcopal Church. It was a move to secure concerted opinion and action relative to divorce and remarriage and to affect public opinion so that uniform legislation might be enacted that would conserve the family institution and the sanctity of marriage. The Interchurch Conference issued soon after its organization an *Address and Appeal* containing these utterances:

> We plead for the cultivation of the grace of purity, for the careful guarding of children within the atmosphere of home . . . and for the realization of the dignity of our physical nature lifted to such high honor by the incarnation.

We plead for a recognition of the sanctity of marriage. We are facing a condition in our country today which threatens danger to the most sacred things. . . Behind the monster of polygamy, behind the specter of the lax divorce court, with its collusions, its corruptions, and its contagion, stands the sad fact of the low ideal of marriage. . . Marriage is a holy thing . . . the institution of God himself. . . Reformation must begin here. [All] must be trained to look with reverent eyes upon the holiness of the estate; upon its mysteriousness as something higher and deeper and larger than can be measured or reached by the low ideas of convenience, of worldly advantage, of the gratification of passion, or by the light and easy estimate of the consent of the passing personal fancy and the mutual recognition of the civil contract. [The hope lies in] inculcating such an intense conviction of what marriage is, and of what marriage means, that it will cease to be entered into "unadvisedly or lightly," that the festivity which accompanies it shall be sobered and consecrated by the conscious presence of him "who adorned and beautified the marriage at Cana . . ." that neither man nor woman shall dare to enter the precincts of betrothal without the tested certainty of love; without the full recognition of the mutual duty of service, forbearance, and faithfulness which it involves.

The Interchurch Conference early adopted this resolution:

It is the judgment of this Conference, and hereby it is recommended to the ecclesiastical bodies represented . . . that ministers should refuse to marry divorced persons except the innocent party in a case where the divorce has been granted on Scriptural grounds, nor then until assured that a period of one year has elapsed from the date of the decision allowing the divorce.

and further:

Resolved, That in recognition of the comity which should exist between Christian churches, it is desirable, and would tend to the increase of the spirit of Christian unity, for each church represented in the Conference to advise and, if ecclesiastical authority will allow, to enjoin its ministers to refuse to unite in marriage any person or persons whose marriage, such ministers

have good reason to believe, is forbidden by the laws of the church in which either party seeking to be married holds membership.

It was reported to the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1905 that

> Regarding the relations of the Church to the State . . . the Inter-church Conference has made decided advancement. It assumes no authority but does claim the right for its members, as citizens, to protest against legislation, or lack of legislation, that defiles citizenship, and that destroys the very foundations of society and righteous government.

An appeal to President Roosevelt was followed early in 1905 by a presidential message to Congress and a law was passed to get data on the question of divorce. As regards the relation of the states to the subject of divorce the conference accepted the guidance of the American Bar Association. It would seem that if the liberal delegates had injected a modicum of sociology the work of the conference would have been more adequate.

By 1906

> Inspired doubtless by the action and appeals of this Interchurch Conference, emphasized by the action of ecclesiastical courts, ministers are organizing in cities and states, and binding themselves to carefulness in the performance of the marriage ceremony. . . . The representatives of various churches met recently in the city of Portland, Maine, and adopted rules for the guidance of ministers throughout the state. The marriage of persons unknown to the officiating minister was condemned. Great caution was advised when divorced persons asked for remarriage, and ministers were urged to refuse to marry persons divorced unless they presented satisfactory evidence that divorce had been granted on Scriptural grounds.[212]

It is said also that the public opinion in South Dakota which put an end to the scandalous divorce law of that

[212] Presbyterian General Assembly. *Minutes of 1906*, 226-227.

state was created by the state federation of churches. In 1908 the Conference utterance is strong:

> The time seems ripe right now to make a more radical and rousing effort, recognizing what is true, that the relation of the church to marriage is neither to effect it nor to legalize it, but only to sanction it in the name of Jesus Christ. The Conference believes that the Christian Church ought not to content itself with merely exercising or withholding discipline after the marriage has been entered into; not merely to say that in one case, or in two cases, can the persons remarried be admitted to the Sacraments. The man and the woman marry each other; the minister or other person authorized by the law acknowledges and legalizes the marriage in the name of the state. The question for the church is, shall it give or withhold its sanction? We would be far stronger if we took our stand here on the threshold and declined to solemnize any marriage but that which carries with it the fundamental and essential thought of the one man and the one woman till death them does part.

The year 1911 saw the circulation of

AN APPEAL TO THE CHURCHES OF THE UNITED STATES IN BEHALF OF THE FAMILY

By the Committee on "Family Life," of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

DEAR BRETHREN: We rest our appeal to you on the proposition that the Family and its development into the Home lie at the foundation of human welfare. Religion, education, industry and political order must look to the Family for their material. Still more. For, as the great constructive and destructive forces in the field of biology have their final expression in the work of the cell, so it is in human society. The Home is the place where all that builds up or pulls down in the social order does its final work. Religion, science and general experience teach this.

Two present tendencies have given shape to this appeal. One is the encouraging fact that there is an increasing conviction of the importance of these truths, together with much

effort to protect and develop family life. The other is the prevalence of great domestic evils. Our institutions of learning in their courses of study and our philanthropic societies in their practical work are giving increased attention to the famly. Many are coming to see in the home the very *crux* of the social problem. The report of the census office on marriage and divorce, the disclosures of the Chicago Vice Commission and the complaints of experts in public education and religious training set forth the grounds for the latter statement.

We, therefore, think it time for the churches to come to the front and do their full duty to the Family. We now, however, point to only three or four things that seem in most immediate need of attention and action.

1. A Uniform Marriage Law has lately been prepared to follow the Uniform Divorce Law now in process of enactment by the states. We recommend these measures, though they may not be wholly ideal, to your attention. The clergy have widely called for some such provisions to meet the evils of discordant legislation, especially as a protection against migratory marriage and divorce.

But we especially urge the need of a similar comity between the churches themselves so that persons who cannot be married by their own ministers will not resort to those of other churches for the object. Do not consistency, the responsibilities for social leadership and the obligations of Christian fraternity demand this course from all our churches? Shall we not in this way observe that comity between churches that we are demanding of the states?

2. We also urge at this time great care in the marriage of persons unknown to the officiating clergyman and of those who are morally or physically unfit for married life.

3. The terrible evils of sexual vice are in urgent need of attention by the clergy, teachers and parents, in ways that are wise and efficient. We gratefully recognize the growing interest in this subject and urge the leaders of the church to become intelligent concerning it and to coöperate in all practical ways with the medical profession and with competent associations for dealing with it.

4. Only one thing more at this time. Our churches should lead their people to see that the Family has its true place in the activities of religion, education, industry and public order. As

implied in what we said at the outset, the vigor and safety of all other institutions depend on the extent to which they strengthen the life of the family. Every tendency in any of these that weakens the home should be resisted. Every plan for their own welfare should include a knowledge of its effect on the home. Because of its importance and because of its relative neglect, the home should receive more direct and positive attention.

The churches are still weak on economic and general social perspective; they have often regarded the letter rather than the spirit; and they put undue stress on personal ethics as if preachments could create morality superior to the fundamental economic base. An interesting criticism of the attitude of the church occurs as follows in the *Nation* of December 3, 1868:

The effect of the divorce laws, as they exist in various Northern States, on morals and manners and on the family, has, during the last month or two, furnished matter for a good deal of discussion to various religious bodies, and if we may judge from the articles in religious periodicals, is constantly occupying a large share of the attention of clergymen and reformers. It seems to be supposed that religious denominations may diminish the frequency of divorce by providing penalties in church discipline for light, thoughtless, or licentious resort to it, or by forbidding clergymen to remarry persons who may have been divorced under certain designated conditions. . . Catholic philosophers . . . stoutly maintain that by declaring the marriage bond indissoluble you can keep vice down to a minimum, and perhaps even prevent children being born out of wedlock, just as if marriage were not a conventional arrangement for the preservation of the family, but a real means of perpetuating the species.

A liberal minister, the Reverend Roland D. Sawyer wrote in 1908 on the "Failure of Religion in the Treatment of Marriage:"

We believe that the question of marriage and divorce as at present agitated by the churches has but little bearing on the real question, and we do not believe Christian ministers are

> called upon to demand of contracting parties anything further than that they observe the essentials of decency and obey the laws of the state. . . Religion can set forth the ideal, can try to lead and assist men and women to attain to that dignity of life which will practice . . . control and discipline. But we believe thoughtful people will not regard her efforts seriously unless she works for such a social order as will make marriage possible.

As to procreation, the Catholic Church has been more successful in its promotion than have the Protestant sects, perhaps because more in earnest. It need not be said that churches stand against the practice of abortion and the conservatives oppose birth control. Dr. Morgan T. Dix, rector of Trinity Church, in the *Calling of a Christian Woman* referred to an evil

> By which women degrade themselves, refuse their natural mission, and earn the just indignation and wrath of earth and heaven. I refer to the willful intention and resolve to defeat the first of those purposes for which Holy Marriage was instituted. It comes looming up in the view of this century as a great, a growing, an almost national crime. . . Arts, base and black, arts which under the old law were punished by death, are used to carry out these impious and absurd resolves. . . A marriage, contracted with that latent or expressed purpose and intention, is a contradiction in terms, a misnomer, a fraud on society and on the church. . .

Many Protestants of today will agree with the Catholic in denouncing as "unnatural and unChristian . . . the absence of offspring," especially when this "has been effected by any of the artificial and immoral devices so much in vogue at present."

The Catholic Church is jealous of state intervention in respect to the care of children.

> The family can not rightly discharge its functions unless the parents have full control over the rearing and education of the children, subject only to such state supervision as is needed to prevent grave neglect of their welfare. . . Generally speak-

ing, and with due allowance for particular conditions, the state exceeds its authority when it provides for the material wants of the child, removes him from parental influence or specifies the school that he must attend.[213]

The committee on marriage and divorce at the National Congregational Council of 1895 pointed out a like encroachment by the church. The church looks on the family as an aggregation of individuals to be converted and used for her benefit, "rather than an institution instinct with its own specific, pulsating life, possessed of singular capabilities for self-construction, surcharged with a tremendous influence. . ." The family is wrongly made an adjunct to the church. The church is regarded as a source of religious influence for the family, instead of being considered a reservoir for the distribution of influence coming from the family. "Institutions are being made to assume the responsibilities and work which more properly belong to the home." One of the needs of the hour is preparation for, and assumption of responsibility on the part of the parent for the development of the family.

In speaking of conditions in 1881 the corresponding secretary of the National League for the Protection of the Family has said:

> In the church a decline of instruction in the home had been going on with the rise of the Sunday School, or perhaps it had ceased to get much attention; for all the century the church had been devising and using societies for its work more and more, culminating in the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. . .
>
> All these had done little directly for the home. Its gain from them was almost wholly incidental. If the home did not stand absolutely still as an institution, it certainly got too little direct attention. And the same tendency away from the home towards collective activity existed in the public school, the

[213] Ryan. "Family:" in *Catholic Encyclopedia.*

factory, and in social reform. The motto "For the Home" was frequent, but the real effort was to reach people through collective associations.[214]

As secretary for the Divorce Reform League he found fault, in his report for 1896, with Christianity for its neglect until within twenty years to take the family "as the chief point of view when looking at the subjects of marriage, divorce, and chastity. . . This change from the individual to the family is very near the pivot of the social problem of the times." In the report of 1898 he expressed the opinion that "the concentration of the energies of the church in its central place of meeting with a multiplicity of various organizations" helps to create a menace to both church and society. "The disuse and the defective use of the home are, I think, a more serious evil than its corruption by vice and its dissolution by divorce."

The Home Department of the Sunday school was suggested in 1885 as a means of establishing coöperation between church and home. By 1906 the number of such departments was estimated at about twelve thousand with some four hundred thirty-eight thousand members and Doctor Dike said:

> The Home Department is saving the Sunday Schools of the country from a serious decline in membership. It is proving itself a most efficient aid to the churches in reaching those outside its public assemblies, and steadily recruiting the membership both of the Sunday School and the Church itself. But, best of all, it is showing the thoughtful that the home is not only capable of great usefulness in Bible study and in pastoral work, but that it may yet be used in other ways to do work that is left undone or else turned over to other institutions. . . There is growth of the feeling that the home has a larger place in the work of both Church and School than it has yet been given.[215]

[214] Dike. *Review of Twenty-five Years*, 4.

[215] National League for Protection of the Family. *Report for 1906*, 11-12.

In his address on the family at the St. Louis Exposition he declared the Home Department to be "the only invention of any importance that has been made in the last hundred years in the interests of the home as a religious force."

The decay of family authority is a source of annoyance to the stricter churches. For instance the Methodist General Conference of 1884 remarks that "there is an alarming frequency in youthful crimes and insubordination to parental and civil authority," and earnestly exhorts "those to whom is committed the care and training of our youth in the family and school, to extreme caution."

The church of the last generation has been afflicted with a decay of "family religion."[216] Doctor Dix in the work previously cited laments the gradual death of

> Home-life, the home-influence, the home-training, the home religion. . . The father throws off his duties on the wife, and goes his way . . . the children have no teaching from him. . . The mother must be free for her pleasures. . . I have seen, amid the ruin of such empty and deserted homes, humble and pious servants, who had the heart which the mother seemed to have lost; who actually, in God's sight, were more the mothers of the children than the vain forgetful creature who bore them.

In 1910 a special committee of the Presbyterian General Assembly said:

> It is with much regret that we report . . . that the testimony is general as to the decay of family religion in some portions of the church, and that there is serious indifference also on the part of many parents as to their duties to their children in things religious. The fear is expressed that these conditions are symptoms of failure rightly to apprehend the practical value to state and church, of the family and the home.

[216] Compare Presbyterian General Assembly. *Minutes of 1881*, 599; *1882*, 120.

The church laments the passing of family worship and urges its reëstablishment, but with small success. Thus before the National Unitarian Conference in 1903 the Reverend W. C. Gannett urged that the parent holds the child in trust. He must be to the child the image of God; the priest, and the oracle. Family worship has declined. Is there nothing to take its place? The Committee on the family reported to the 1907 National Council of Congregational Churches that

> The home is more directly under the control of a right church influence than is any other social group. The church, more than any other institution, still holds public semblance at least, to recognition of the family, in its family pews and in its personal ministry. By its very organization and by its functions of baptism and marriage the church witnesses to the unitary place of the family.

Yet even the family pew is no longer a universal "institution," and church membership tends to exemplify sexual division of labor.

In general the attitude of the conservative churches has been unfriendly toward the "woman's movement" in its relation to the home. Matilda J. Gage in her *Woman, Church, and State* has assembled an astonishing array of illustrations of the supercilious attitude of clergymen toward woman. Among other things she mentions the fact that when the use of anaesthetics in child-birth was introduced into the United States "prominent New England clergymen preached against their use upon the . . . ground of its being an impious frustration of the curse of the Almighty upon woman." In 1882 in fact, Mrs. Stanton said:

> So fully are the most bigoted and ignorant women convinced that suffering in child-birth is heaven's decree, that physicians

find difficulty in persuading them to mitigate their sufferings by taking chloroform.[217]

Doctor Craven is said to have expressed the general clerical view when he said in 1876: "It is positively base for a woman to speak in the pulpit." A few years later Mrs. Stanton said that "women were recently refused admission to the Medical Society of Massachusetts on the ground that it was not the intention of God that women should practice medicine." So far did the superstition inculcated by ecclesiasticism reach.

The *Catholic World* of 1869 in an article on "The Woman Question" contained a strong assertion of woman's place, in which the orthodox denominations would at that time probably concur, and to a great degree even to the present as is evidenced by the refusal of the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1912 to admit women to the ministry. The article is to the effect that "woman was made for the man;" woman suffrage would destroy the Christian family; as it is, the family is fast disappearing, "and when the family goes, the nation goes too, or ceases to be worth preserving. . ." A large and influential class of women disdain domesticity; separation of pecuniary interests of husband and wife and ease of divorce contribute to the attenuation of the family; when the mother holds civil office, children will be a nuisance; abortion will become more prevalent; mothers are chiefly to blame for the present lack of filial reverence; children lose respect for the mother who forgets the duty of wifely obedience.

Doctor Dix in the book already quoted gave a generation ago the conservative view of woman's place. He denounced the legislation that gave a wife separate position and interests, the right to hold property and to sue and be sued by herself.

[217] Lewis and others. "Health of American Women," 515.

> They are, only in a religious fiction, one. From this condition with separate interests and separate responsibilities, it is an easy step to personal separation. But when, if ever, woman attains a complete independence, she may find herself crushed under burdens too great for her to bear: there are signs of that already; they multiply; one traces them in the bitter saying that now it is the women who have to support the men. And the social and moral wreck of the women will be complete, when the conspiracy against Holy Matrimony has come to a triumph. Then this will be the history: that she whom God lifted up from the estate of concubine and slave, and crowned with honor and glory as a Christian wife, will, after having turned from God to follow her own devices, sink back to be once more man's concubine and slave.

At the Pan-Presbyterian Council in Philadelphia about 1880

> Some one suggested that the position of women in the church should be considered, that some new dignity and honor might be accorded her. The proposition was received with derision and treated with as much contempt as if it had been proposed to make elders and deacons of monkeys.[218]

There has been, of course, some commendable liberalism among the clergy with respect to woman's place, as for instance Doctor Bashford's discussion of the question "Does the Bible Allow Women to Preach?" He declared that

> The Christian law abolishes all special rights and honors which are now claimed by either of the sexes. . . . The old theory that Paul universally forbids women to speak in the church is shattered forever by Paul's own words and conduct. [He commanded the women at Corinth to keep silent because of the confusion in the church and scandal to neighbors.]

Recent years show a commendable disposition on the part of some ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical bodies to look at the problems of the family in their broadest social aspects. Excellent illustrations are Carroll

[218] Mrs. E. C. Stanton: in Lewis and others, "Health of American Women," 514.

D. Wright's paper before the National Unitarian Conference in 1891 which was ordered printed and sent to each of the churches as a guide to legislation and life, and Mrs. Anna G. Spencer's address at the 1895 Conference. The Congregational Church, also, has had a broad sociological outlook on the question of the family. A good illustration is found in the proceedings of the Council of 1907. On this occasion it was suggested that churches should (1) study local industrial conditions as they affect family life; (2) inform membership and community of them; (3) try to alleviate the situation where it bears hardest on family life – promote day nurseries, parents' associations, the playground movement, recreation centers, etc.; (4) initiate and support efforts to prevent child labor and regulate the work of women by the enactment and enforcement of just and humane laws; (5) call attention of parents to the need of training children in those industrial virtues which the home can supply. Ministers must be trained – in college and seminary – to understand the family in its relation to the church; other leaders, and parents, likewise. Ministers and churches should carefully study the problem of the family.

Family traditions are stronger among the Jews, perhaps, than among any Christian sects, and home life in orthodox Jewish families is more full of meaning. A young Jewess in New York who has entrance to some of the most exclusive social circles says that the most cultured homes in the city are found among the Jews on the East Side.[219] The *Jewish Encyclopedia* says

> The observances of the faith are so entwined with the everyday customs of the home as to make the Jewish religion and the family life one, a bond in sanctity. Most of the religious ceremonies are to be celebrated in the bosom of the family;

[219] *Independent* (1910), vol. lxviii, 346.

> the observances of the dietary laws are an especially prominent feature in the daily routine. . . Most valuable is the celebration of the Sabbath. The Sabbath lamp, kindled on Friday evening, is a symbol of the home influence of woman as the inspirer of a pure family life.

The Jewish faith and the Jewish family, however, are subject, as indicated elsewhere in this volume, to the same influences for decay that have undermined Christian traditions. No religion however deep rooted or intense can permanently prevent the remodeling of family institutions in the image of the new social order. Incidentally, an interesting illustration of the lingering of anomalous tradition is recorded in the 1898 report of the corresponding secretary of the Divorce Reform League to the effect that the Legal Aid Society of New York had discovered

> A practice, among certain Jewish rabbis in the thickly settled Eastern portions of the city, of granting divorces by their own ecclesiastical authority. This is a transfer to our country, I suppose, of a practice entirely legal among the Jews in Russia. The president of the Legal Aid Society on investigation found "that in hundreds and possibly thousands of instances this same kind of crime is being inflicted upon innocent women and helpless children."

A progressive Jewish viewpoint is expressed in a Milwaukee lecture of November, 1913, by Rabbi Samuel Hirschberg in which he denounced certain old forms and phrases still found in the marriage ritual of many creeds. He objected to the phrase "Who giveth this woman away?" as a relic of primitive conditions. He said there was no more reason for the wife to obey the husband than for the husband to obey the wife, and raised objection to the finale, "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder," on the score of doubt as to God's part in the formation of some unions.

> Love creates marriage, gives it its only validity, and not any ceremony that may be gone through. And love, be it noted,

is divine in its origin, a quality of man as a child of God. Love is thus sacred and the relationship it alone can authorize is thus and must ever be, to be true and genuine, similarly sacred.

The proposition that the church should negotiate between young men and women the wholesome social relationships that constitute an indispensable preliminary to wise and happy marriage has in recent years received some attention. The *Independent* in 1912 contained a letter on marriage which had appeared in Catholic journals, written by one of a club of fourteen Catholic girls between the ages of seventeen and twenty-eight – girls of Irish and German descent, supporting themselves "from sheer necessity." She says:

> We are all willing, nay, anxious to be married, and all we want is a good moral fellow with a fair education and salary. . . The Catholic Church harbors more old maids than any other organization we know of . . . because it separates its boys and girls and keeps them separated from the kindergarten grade up. Out of a congregation of one thousand souls I am personally acquainted with three boys – the other girls [together] know almost a dozen, and this is a small town. . . Our boys never extend us invitations; they do not know us. We cannot invite them to our homes; we never meet them. . .
>
> Social life is the religion of the Protestant church. It is there the girls meet their boy friends. It is there they arrange their social functions; and from my observations it is there they all marry. . . Eight of our club girls have beaus, all Protestants, and, unfortunately all staunch ones. We have all been pulling strings, but I know in my heart it is a case of lose my religion or my friend, and two of our girls have held this agonizing position for five years. . .
>
> What we need in our church to promote matrimony is a live wire, one who will take a lesson from the other churches and get busy.[220]

In 1912 the Institutional Church of Kansas City decided to throw open its parlors for the use of girls that

[220] "Feminine Difficulty:" in the *Independent*, vol. lxxii, 1391.

had no place to entertain their young men friends, the church to provide chaperonage. In 1914 Bishop M'Cormick of the Episcopal Church was quoted as saying that

> To follow the Bible is also to seek to promote marriage among the truly marriageable. . . An inviting field for genuine philanthropy, especially for churches, social settlements, and the like, is to be found in affording opportunities for young men and young women to meet under conditions which make pure love and reasonable courtship possible.

It seems probable that through such activity on the part of churches together with social center facilities developed by community spirit something may be done to improve present trying conditions.

The vice disclosures of a few years ago aroused church workers and the religious press to the need for action. The Federal Council of Churches of Chicago decided on definite steps against "the social evil." The resolutions adopted urged upon parents, Sunday school teachers, and ministers, the duty of instructing upon sexual matters and the shame of city life those for whom they were responsible. State and city authorities were asked to investigate and report upon the consequences of prostitution and the city administration was criticized for failure strictly to enforce existing law. It was recommended that a special study be made

> Of the work which the churches can undertake in the specific field of social purity, and the best methods by which the Church and church people may offer assistance in preventing the spread of the social evil, protecting the young and inexperienced, and redeeming the victims of sexual vice.

It is unfortunate, however, that in general, upon this as on other matters the church lacks disposition to attack fundamentals.

XIV. THE FAMILY AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

It has been made apparent in the course of these volumes that the family is in no sense an independent institution capable of being fashioned, sustained, or modified at will to suit the fancy. It is part and parcel of an organic civilization and must undergo such evolution as will keep it in correspondence with co-existing social institutions whose form and texture seems to depend primarily on the evolution of economic technique. Such being the case it is manifest that no mere preachment or emotional agitation can determine the future forms of the family. This being true, no one should be unduly alarmed at revolutionary utterances with reference to the family any more than he should put confidence in sentimental campaigns for rehabilitation or conservation of old values.

It is a fact, nevertheless, that we are in the midst of the social revolution, which is destined to change intrinsically the whole fibre of society and that some of those that have been most vigorous in heralding this revolution have given out subversive opinions as to marriage and the family, opinions that deserve some notice, if only by reason of the alarm they excite. Ely in his *Recent American Socialism* was impressed by the way in which the journals of the anarchistic internationalists

> Sneer incessantly at the "sacredness of the family" and dwell with pleasure on every vile scandal which is noticed by the "capitalistic press." Especial attention is given to divorces to show that the family institution is already undermined, and

they are thoroughgoing skeptics regarding the morality of the relations between the sexes in bourgeois society.

The *Vorbote* for May 12, 1883, said:

> In capitalistic society, marriage has long become a pure financial operation, and the possessing classes long ago established community of wives, and, indeed, the nastiest which is conceivable. . . . They take a special pleasure in seducing one another's wives. . . . [According to this writer] a marriage is only so long moral as it rests upon the free inclination of man and wife.

Truth of January 26, 1884 (a San Francisco internationalist organ) contained the following burlesque on marriage under the competitive system:

> O wilt thou take this form so spare,
> This powdered face and frizzled hair –
> To be thy wedded wife;
> And keep her free from labor vile,
> Lest she her dainty fingers soil –
> And dress her up in gayest style,
> As long as thou hast life?
>
> I will.
>
> And wilt thou take these stocks and bonds,
> This brown stone front, these diamonds,
> To be thy husband dear?
> And wilt thou in this carriage ride,
> And o'er his lordly home preside,
> And be divorced while yet a bride,
> Or ere a single year?
>
> I will.
>
> Then I pronounce you man and wife;
> And with what I've together joined,
> The next best man may run away
> Whenever he a chance can find.

Another version of this diatribe appeared in 1914 in the (Socialist) Milwaukee *Leader*.

Ely in the work mentioned above denounces Most's *Freiheit* as habitually attaining

> The superlative of coarseness and vileness in its attacks on the family. It objects to the family on principle because it is the state in miniature, because it existed before the state, and furnished a model for it with all its evils and perversities. *Freiheit* advocates a new genealogy, traced from mothers, whose names, and not that of the fathers, descend to the children, since it is never certain who the father is. State up-bringing of children is likewise favored in the *Freiheit*, in order that the old family may completely abandon the field to free love.

Undoubtedly there is an antagonism between communism or collectivism and the present form of family institution. Property makes for individualism or familism, and sex and family furnish an incentive to the accumulation of property. Inheritance clinches the tie. It would seem, therefore, that anarchism or socialism, if they eliminated private property in capital goods, would undermine the foundations of the family. It must be remembered, however, that since industry has become impersonally corporate instead of a family affair the family has already been profoundly affected. Individuals, not families, are the units. It will be remembered, too, that for most people the home in any ideal sense no longer exists, if it ever did exist. Nor can any moral plea be made in behalf of home and family if they are incapable of standing on their own feet when the present sordid props are struck away. The essential Socialist teaching as to marriage is simply that it "is the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual fact." Properly comprehended, the doctrine of free-love, even, is not in the least immoral in essential intent. It simply means that marriage and the family will have to stand or fall on their

own merits in each particular case without being artificially propped by property interests and legal sanctions. The doctrine, however, is a part of anarchism rather than of Socialism and so is probably of rather remote importance for the present. It will however bear very favorable comparison with the present caricature of family and home provided by modern capitalism. The regeneration of the family waits upon the coming of a new commonwealth, for a candid study of the facts of present-day civilization impresses us with the fact that while nihilistic theories as to family relations abound, their real basis is in the pathology of capitalism. The real menace to family and home is not the doctrine of affinity proclaimed by sentimentalists nor yet the doctrine of free love but rather the relentless workings of the profit system.

Indications are that society is working toward Socialism, not as a final goal but as the next stage in social evolution. Such a fundamental economic change will influence profoundly the marriage relation and the forms of the family. An appreciation of the meaning and spirit of Socialism involves at least these conceptions touching the family: absolute sex equality so far as social regulations can go; scientific pedagogy of sex relations; a thoroughgoing eugenics enforced at the outset by legislation and by public opinion; full economic opportunity for all young people, so that marriage shall not be influenced by mercenary considerations; extreme emphasis on the social importance and significance of the marital relation as the key to race improvement and race perpetuation; economic opportunity such as shall enable all fit persons to become parents at the most appropriate age; the elimination of prostitution by removing its cause—poverty; elimina-

tion of venereal disease in this way and by medical measures; provision of ideal conditions for pregnant women and nursing mothers, with adequate scientific attention and assistance in the birth and care of children; volitional limitation of the size of family, not by economic expediency but by consideration for the rights of women as persons who are entitled to individuality and freedom to live; equality of opportunity for every child born in so far as social control, and subsidy where necessary, can secure such equality; hygienic, aesthetic, and stimulating surroundings in home, school, and social center, all directed to the continual education of young and old; social mediation in case of serious family dissension; divorce in such cases as society judges best in view of the interests of the parents, children, and community; home ownership for all that care to attach themselves to a spot with some degree of permanency, such home to be transmissible to children if so desired; the evolution of a spiritualized family based not on economic necessity but on aesthetic, idealistic, spiritual values and loyalties.

Several specific questions remain to be answered in the light of this forecast. Perhaps the first is as to the future of permanent monogamy.

Some students of family institutions see in durable monogamy the culmination of social evolution in respect to the marriage relation. To their minds, society is like a variable approaching a limit and in this particular the permanent mutual fidelity of one husband and one wife constitutes the limit toward which marriage approaches. It would be allowed, presumably, that for an indefinite period there will be marriages that fall short of the ideal and that perhaps always there will be a few such tho in diminishing number. Ul-

timately, however, the ideal type would become practically universal.

Now in view of the fact that with invention and the development of new industrial and business technique, social institutions are forced through a process of continual change, and in view of the further fact that there seems no reason to suppose that science and invention will ever reach their limit so that technical progress would cease, it is hard to imagine a time when family institutions will become set and cease to evolve. Ultimately the cooling of the earth and its progressive aridification may set in operation a process of involution and extinction, but even so, the new exigencies would involve new technique and new institutions and presumably the forms of marriage would change to suit.

There is probably no single type of human preference in respect to monogamy or polygamy; that is, if nature were allowed to take its own course some persons would very likely be monogamic and others polygamic. Moreover it is probable that many of either class could be carried over to the other if environing influences were adapted to the change. Only extreme pressure of some sort, however, could reduce all to a single type unless we allow for a sufficiently long period of cumulative selection to effect the extinction of one or the other extreme strain. Will a free, democratic society care to exercise such rigorous social control as to produce the externals of conformity to any particular marriage type? The issue is at least questionable. It may be that with the elimination of venereal disease and clearly dysgenesic strains of heredity, with the disappearance of women's dependence on the economic productivity or the property ownership of her husband, with the elimination of all serious questions of gen-

ealogy by means of the diminished importance of inheritance of property, with community supervision of child-welfare increasing, and with the development of a high type of community enjoyment both in work and play, but outside the individual home—it may be that society will not find it important to censor the marital relations of individuals and that there will ultimately be as many types of sex commerce as there are of individual taste.

It may be, on the contrary, that the increased voice of woman in social control may result in increased censorship of those matters in which the majority of the female sex is constitutionally specialized and that the probable female preference for monogamy may become more and more the established rule. It may turn out, too, as seems rather probable, that the extent to which the state can rear children with success is sharply limited and that the individual home must be maintained, at least during their early years. In that case, unless we are to assume homes with only a woman at the head, woman's tastes might be reinforced by social pressure in the interest of the race. In general, about all that can be said now is that there is likelihood of progressive change in the type of marital relation but whether this change will preclude or secure the dominance of stable monogamy or will result in endless fluctuations of this phase of family institution can scarcely be foretold.

The future of prostitution is clearer. It is certain practically to disappear. This prediction does not mean that irregular sex relations will necessarily disappear but that the mercantile element will be eliminated. With the coming of universal economic opportunity, women will not be led into vice for want of normal

stimulation in life; no woman will be forced to sell herself and no normal woman will voluntarily do so, unless in certain cases of overtowering ambition in which a woman may see the chance for a career as the mistress of some eminent personage. On the other hand the facilitation of marriage will take away from young men the pressure that has driven in the direction of prostitution. Whether any considerable development of "free love" promiscuity may be expected to take the place of monetary prostitution is a part of the preceding question as to the future of monogamy and can not be answered with any greater certainty.

The status of woman is sure to undergo further alteration. Woman's cultural education will be in the same subjects as man's tho she may get out of the courses something different from what man gets. Physical convenience will be the only factor to exclude her from any employment. She will probably be out of the home as much as man and in it as much as man, with the single exception of the period of childbirth and the care of the very young child. Both will be able, if they choose, to be in the home together far more than at present. But woman's work will not be housework any more than man's will be. She will be a full-fledged human being enjoying identical social rights, powers, and privileges. Freed thus from masculine dominance she will become more truly feminine and a better colleague of her husband, a more constructive member of society.

In the new social order extreme emphasis is sure to be placed upon eugenic procreation and scientific care of children; but will these advances come to be entrusted in large measure to individual enlightenment and family providence or will the functions of parent-

hood be absorbed by the state? It seems clear that at least in its early stages, socialism will mean an increased amount of social control. Socialists seek, indeed, to inaugurate an *administration* of *things* that will make unnecessary the *government* of *people*; in this respect their goal is that of the anarchist. But for a considerable period it will be necessary to reckon with traits and habits handed on by the old régime and we may expect that at first there will be an increase of legislation designed to check the mating of the unfit and the procreation of undesirable citizens. In all probability the enlightened public mind will also bring the persuasion and pressure of public opinion into play in behalf of positively eugenic matings. It may be assumed that even before the advent of socialism, the periods of pregnancy and suckling will be adequately guarded. We may expect in the socialist commonwealth a system of public educational agencies that will begin with the nursery and follow the individual through life. The advantages of the old-fashioned family of ten or fifteen children will be supplied by neighborhood nursery, kindergarten, play-ground, by whose means the coöperative group spirit will receive development. The home, however, will be sufficiently spacious and sufficiently attractive to appeal to the individual's desire for personalty and privacy, so that there is no reason to suppose that it will be unduly overshadowed by community agencies. Familism will be reintegrated not as a property institution but as an expression of esteem for notable lines of heredity.

Those persons that experience alarm at the thought of intrinsic changes in family institutions should remember that in the light of social evolution, nothing is right or valuable in itself; nothing possesses intrin-

sic validity. The only standard of legitimate approbation is the standard formed by considerations of what is socially fit at the time in question. If there are in normal human nature certain intrinsic and fundamental characters that hold good in all ages and under all social systems it may be expected that on the whole the march of progress will result in the better expression of these qualities in social institutions. If phases of present matrimonial and family institutions really correspond to such basic traits, they will be found fit and will be preserved, irrespective of the changes that ensue in the general evolution of society. If, however, aspects of the family now esteemed precious owe their worth simply to the peculiar conditions of the present capitalism, future generations will assuredly cease to esteem these features of family usage and will supersede them with better. The enlightened and honest moralist has nothing to fear from social revolution; he has everything to fear from social stagnation.

The American family in its distinctive features has been, as we saw, a product of the ascendancy of the bourgeois class, the dominance of a virgin continent, and the industrial revolution. The frontier is gone, the industrial revolution is still at work, now undermining the present social order, and the end of class domination is in sight. A new family is inevitable, a family based on the conservation and scientific administration of limited natural resources, on the social ownership of the instrumentalities of economic production and the universal enjoyment of the fruits, and on a social democracy devoid of artificial stratification based on economic exploitation. Such is the promise of American life, of the world life.

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